



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



Ms 1388.6 (1880)

Boston

JAN 11 1900



Harvard College Library.

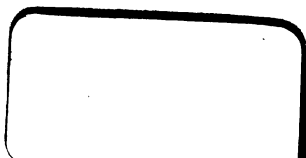
FROM THE BEQUEST OF

CHARLES SUMNER, LL.D.,  
OF BOSTON.

(Class of 1830.)

"For books relating to Politics and  
Fine Arts."

20 Nov. 1899.











3

W.

*B ind*

1880.

*US 1380.6*

*~~6375.705~~*

*(CE) 38*

# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

## Republican National Convention,

HELD AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,

Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Monday and Tuesday,  
June 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 7th and 8th, 1880.

Resulting in the following nominations:

FOR PRESIDENT,

JAMES A. GARFIELD,

OF OHIO.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT,

CHESTER A. ARTHUR,

OF NEW YORK.

Reported by EUGENE DAVIS, Official Stenographer to the Convention.

*Paul*

CHICAGO, ILL.:

THE JNO. B. JEFFERY PRINTING AND PUBLISHING HOUSE.

1881.



0  
1880.

---

# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

## Republican National Convention.

HELD AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,

Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Monday and Tuesday,  
June 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 7th and 8th, 1880.

Resulting in the following nominations:

FOR PRESIDENT,

**JAMES A. GARFIELD,**

OF OHIO.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT,

**CHESTER A. ARTHUR,**

OF NEW YORK.

---

Reported by EUGENE DAVIS, Official Stenographer to the Convention.

---

CHICAGO, ILL.:

THE JNO. B. JEFFERY PRINTING AND PUBLISHING HOUSE.

.....  
1881.

473  
41

US 1380.6 (1880)  
6395.105

*Summer fund.*

---

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1881, by  
JNO. B. JEFFERY,  
in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C.

---

# REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

1880.

## PROCEEDINGS.

FIRST DAY—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1880.

The REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION assembled in Exhibition Hall, Chicago, at twelve o'clock, noon, of this day, and was called to order by Hon. J. Donald Cameron, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, who announced that Rev. Dr. Kittredge, of Chicago, would open the proceedings with prayer.

Rev. Dr. Kittredge then offered the following

### PRAYER.

*Let us unite in prayer:* Our Father in Heaven, we thank Thee that at the opening of this Convention we can unite our hearts at the mercy seat and seek Thy blessing. We thank Thee that Thou hast promised to hear those who come to Thee with penitent, believing hearts. And so wilt Thou pardon us all our sins as we bow before Thee, and wilt Thou give us such a blessed mighty faith in Thee that our prayer shall bring down a blessing from Thy love. We thank Thee this morning for the unity of our hearts in Thy Fatherhood. We thank Thee, gathered as we are from so many different homes, so many States, with so many different experiences and different views, that, as we look up into Thy face, we lose sight of all these differences as we call Thee "Our Father which art in heaven." We thank Thee this morning for all Thy blessings to our dear land; that, as Thou didst lead Thine Israel of old, and didst go before them in the cloud by day and in the pillar of fire by night, so Thou hast led our Nation during these many years, and though Thou hast led us as Thou didst Thine Israel through the Red Sea of blood, and through the wilderness of sorrow, we thank Thee that Thou hast never left us. We thank Thee that Thy discipline has purified us. We thank Thee this morning that we are a united Nation—one Nation in love one to the other. We thank Thee, Heavenly Father, for the names and the memories that are so sacred to us to-day; for that name of Washington, for that name of Lincoln, and for all the memories of great and good men through whom Thou hast blessed our country.



And now we come to Thee this morning because Thou art an unchangeable God, because Thou art our God, as Thou wast our fathers' God. We come to pray that Thou wouldst bless our land to-day, and that Thy blessing may rest upon it in the future. Bless North and South, East and West, every State, every city and town, and every home. We thank Thee for all that Thou hast accomplished for the strength and the beauty of our country through that party whose representatives meet here to-day. We thank Thee for the chains of bondage that are forever broken. We thank Thee for re-united States. We thank Thee for the principles of justice, and equality, and righteousness which underlie the foundations of our Government.

And now, Heavenly Father, bless this Convention. Guide all its deliberations by Thy Holy Spirit. May we look to Thee, who hast promised to give us wisdom if we only ask in faith. Wilt Thou help us in these days by Thy grace, to lose sight of all individual desires and opinions, and to seek only Thy glory, and the unity and the power of our dear land. We ask that thou wouldst bless the dear ones at home—homes from which so many of us have come to this city. Watch over them in our absence. Be as a wall of fire about our homes, and may we be re-united again to the dear ones from whom we are absent. Hear this our prayer. Bless us; bless this whole land. God of our fathers, may Thy blessing ever go before us, and at last wilt Thou gather us all into the Father's house, where they never go out, and where love, and truth, and friendship are perfect. We ask it all in the name of our blessed Redeemer, Amen.

#### READING THE CALL.

Mr. CAMERON. The Secretary of the National Committee will now read the call for the Convention.

Col. THOS. B. KEOGH, Secretary of the Republican National Committee, then read the Call, as follows:

WASHINGTON, JANUARY, 1880.

A National Convention of the Republican party will meet at Chicago, Wednesday, the 2d day of June next, for the nomination of candidates to be supported for President and Vice-President at the next election. Republicans and all who will co-operate with them in supporting the nominees of the party, are invited to choose two delegates from each Congressional district, four at large from each State, two from each Territory and two from the District of Columbia, to represent them in the Convention.

J. D. CAMERON, *Chairman*.

THOS. B. KEOGH, *Secretary*.

#### ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. CAMERON then delivered the following opening address:

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* I ask your attention for a single moment. During the canvass just ended there has been manifested in many sections of the country considerable bitterness, which, I

trust, will entirely disappear before we enter upon the grave duties devolved upon us. Let there be but one motive governing our action, and let that be a determination to place in nomination the strongest possible candidates — men strong in themselves, men strong in the confidence and affections of the people, and men who will command the respect of the civilized world. Our country, of which we are justly proud, has grown so rapidly in population, wealth and influence during the existence of the Republican party, that we have attained a position as one of the leading powers of the world; and we can no longer be satisfied with our isolation. Recognizing the changed condition, we must place in position men whose familiarity with other nations will enable them to direct our affairs so that we will take the lead in commerce, as we have in agriculture and in manufactures. Do not for a moment doubt the strength of our institutions. They have been tried in blood and have come through the contest better, stronger, and purer than the most ardent patriot had dared to hope. No combination of circumstances, no coterie of individuals, no personal ambition, can ever prevail against the intelligence and inborn love of liberty which are implanted in the hearts of Americans. When the nominations are made and the Convention has completed its work, let there be but one sentiment animating all earnest, sincere, and unselfish Republicans, and let that be that each shall vie with the other in carrying our grand old party through the coming contest to victory.

I have been instructed by the Republican National Committee to place in nomination as Temporary Chairman, Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, of Massachusetts.

The nomination being unanimously agreed to, the Chair appointed Ex-Gov. E. J. DAVIS, of Texas, Hon. WILLIAM P. FRYE, of Maine, and Hon. GREEN B. RAUM, of Illinois, a committee to conduct the Chairman to his seat.

The Committee then conducted Mr. HOAR to the chair.

Mr. CAMERON. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* I have the great pleasure of introducing to you the Honorable GEORGE F. HOAR, of Massachusetts.

#### ADDRESS OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

On taking the chair, Mr. HOAR said:

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* Accept my thanks for this distinguished mark of your confidence.

The framers of the Constitution expected that the President would be chosen by Electors, who were to assemble in their respective States, and, on consultation with each other, cast their ballots for a Chief Magistrate. In case of failure by the Electors, the House of Representatives, voting by States, were to make choice from the four who had the highest number of votes in the Electoral College. So far from direct popular action did the Constitution remove the choice of an Executive. But the people, by the customs they have established, have baffled the expectation of the framers of the Constitution. The Elector to-day is but a scribe. The Conventions of

the great political parties designate each a man for whom the people vote directly through their agents, the Presidential Electors, and to a choice between whom they are practically restricted. The function of this Convention, therefore, is to name one of two men from whom the people of the United States are to select their President. If it perform its duties wisely, fearlessly, and freely, it is to name the man whom the people will make their President. Your term of office is but brief; but scarcely any duty is intrusted to the most honored citizens of the Republic which, in dignity, in authority, in far-reaching public importance, equals this.

It is twenty years since the Republican Convention met in this city, and after a stormy but friendly contest, put in nomination Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin. Lincoln has gone to his rest. His companion upon the ticket, in fresh and vigorous age, is present with us to-day, to give us counsel from the stores of an experience gathered from a life of honorable public service. Lincoln has gone to his rest. Douglas and Breckinridge, his two competitors for the great office of the Presidency, sleep by his side. But, the parties which confronted each other *then*, confront each other now, unchanged in purpose, in temper, and in character. The Democratic party was ruled then, as now, by the South. The single purpose of its being was to give political supremacy to the oligarchs of the South, and office, without influence, to their subservient Northern allies.

In the pursuit of that end, every great public interest was sacrificed or disregarded. Expending little for public improvements, either on the coast or on inland river or lake, in 1860 the credit of the Nation was poor, its treasury empty, its six per cent. bonds below par. Our unprotected manufactures contended at fearful odds with the pauper labor of Europe, on whose workshops we depended for a large portion of the necessities and comforts of life. Our little navy was scattered over the four quarters of the globe. Four millions of our countrymen were in hopeless bondage. To them every new State, as it took its place in the great family, but added a new dungeon to their gloomy prison-house.

At last, as the Democratic party let go its hold on power, the National flag itself seemed about to be folded and laid aside, to be regarded thenceforth as a miserable symbol of the futility and folly of the last great experiment of self-government. The Democratic party confronts us to-day, as I said, unchanged in purpose, in temper, and in character. United in nothing else, proposing no other measure of policy, it wages its warfare upon the safeguards which the Nation has thrown around the purity of its elections. It can see nothing else of evil except that a freeman should cast a free vote under the protection of the National authority.

In Louisiana and Mississippi it is the accomplice of the White League and the Ku-Klux. In South Carolina it takes the honest ballot from the box, and stuffs tissue ballots in its place. In New York it issues fraudulent naturalization papers, three score thousand in number. In Maine its ambitious larceny tries to pilfer a whole State Government at once. In Delaware it stands complacently by the whipping-post. As in war it found in the Constitution nothing which could protect the National life, so in peace it finds nothing there which can protect the National honor. Can you find in the history of the Democratic party for sixteen years anything that it has either done or tried to do, except to break down the legal safeguards which make free elections possible?

My friends, the Republican party has no such miserable history. It tells you of rebellion subdued; of slaves freed; of great public ways constructed; of rivers and harbors opened to commerce; of homestead laws for the settlers; of treaties protecting the rights of our naturalized citizens abroad; of public credit re-established; of debt diminished; of sound currency restored; of a flag floating everywhere, honored and respected, over peaceful seas and welcomed everywhere in friendly ports.

But not for these things alone does the Republican party challenge your respect or demand your confidence. National wealth may exist, manufactures may flourish, commerce may increase, in a nation whose people are degraded and enslaved. The keynote of every Republican platform, the principle of every Republican union, is found in its respect for the dignity of the individual man. Until that becomes the pervading principle of the Republic, from Canada to the Gulf, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, our mission is not ended. The Republic lives, the Republican party lives, but for this: That every man within our borders may dwell secure in a happy home, may cast and have counted his equal vote, and may send his child at the public charge to a free school.

Until these things come to pass, the mission of our party is not accomplished, nor is its conflict with its ancient adversary ended.

My friends, I thank you again for this distinguished mark of your confidence, which I will endeavor to merit by performing the duties of the Chair during the brief space in which I shall fill it, without respect of person or of desire among the delegates of this Convention.

The National Executive Committee have instructed the Chair to propose to the Convention for its acceptance the following names for the offices of Temporary Secretaries, Reading Clerks, and Stenographer: JOHN H. ROBERTS, of Illinois, and C. L. MAGEE, of Pennsylvania, Temporary Secretaries; CHARLES W. CLISBEE, of Michigan, and JAMES C. BROADWELL, of Missouri, Reading Clerks; EUGENE DAVIS, of New York, Stenographer.

These nominations were unanimously agreed to, and the gentlemen named took their seats upon the platform.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

#### APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. President:* I offer the following resolution:

*Resolved,* That the roll of the States and Territories be called, and the chairman of each delegation announce the names of the persons selected to serve on the Committees, as follows: "Permanent Organization," "Rules and Order of Business," "Credentials," and "Resolutions."

The resolution was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The Secretary will now call the roll of States and Territories, if no other direction be given by the Convention, in alphabetical order. The chairmen of the respective delegations are requested to announce the names of the persons proposed to serve on the several Committees, and then to send, in writing, to the Secretary the names which they announce.

As the States were called the names were announced in their order, and upon the conclusion of the Roll Call the several Committees were announced, as follows;

#### COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Alabama, - -	Isaac Heyman.	New Hampshire, W. E. Chandler.
Arkansas, - -	Powell Clayton.	New Jersey, - Chilion Robbins.
California, - -	Creed Haymond.	New York, Benjamin F. Tracy.
Colorado, - -	George T. Clark.	North Carolina, Geo. W. Price, Jr.
Connecticut, -	Samuel Fessenden.	Ohio, - - Warner M. Bateman.
Delaware, - -	James R. Lofland.	Oregon, - - John H. Mitchell.
Florida, - -	Joseph E. Lee.	Pennsylvania, - - John Cessna.
Georgia, - -	Edwin Belcher.	Rhode Island, John P. Sanborn.
Illinois, - -	'Green B. Raum.	South Carolina, - - W. N. Taft.
Indiana, - -	B. K. Higginbotham.	Tennessee, - J. M. Thornburgh.
Iowa, - -	- J. S. Clarkson.	Texas, - - Webster Flanagan.
Kansas, - -	- B. F. Simpson.	Vermont, - - John W. Stewart.
Kentucky, - -	Richard B. Stoll.	Virginia, - - C. C. Tompkins.
Louisiana, [contested; no app't.]		West Virginia, - J. M. Hagans.
Maine, - -	A. A. Strout.	Wisconsin, Edward Sanderson.
Maryland, - -	W. J. Hooper.	Arizona, Richard C. McCormick.
Massachusetts, Chas. R. Codman.		Dakota, - - Porter Warner.
Michigan, - -	Omar D. Conger.	District of Columbia, S. J. Bowen.
Minnesota, - -	- D. M. Sabin.	Idaho, - - George L. Shoup.
Mississippi, - -	- F. M. Libby.	Montana, - - Henry N. Blake.
Missouri, - -	Harrison E. Havens.	New Mexico, - William Breedon.
Nebraska, - -	N. R. Persinger.	Wyoming, - - M. C. Brown.
Nevada, - -	- M. D. Foley.	Utah, - - V. M. C. Silva.

#### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Alabama, -	William Youngblood.	New Jersey, Wm. Walter Phelps.
Arkansas, - -	S. H. Holland.	New York, Edwards Pierrepont.
California, - -	- D. S. Payne.	North Carolina, James H. Harris.
Colorado, - -	- Amos Steck.	Ohio, - Rodney M. Stimpson.
Connecticut, -	Henry C. Robinson.	Oregon, - - H. W. Scott.
Delaware, - -	- Levi G. Clarke.	Pennsylvania, - W. B. Rogers.
Florida, - -	- F. C. Humphreys.	Rhode Island, Charles H. Handy.
Georgia, - -	- A. E. Buck.	South Carolina, - D. D. McColl.
Illinois, - -	- Emery A. Storrs.	Tennessee, Horace H. Harrison.
Indiana, - -	George W. Friedley.	Texas, - - J. G. Tracey.
Iowa, - -	George D. Perkins.	Vermont, - George G. Benedict.
Kansas, - -	- B. W. Perkins.	Virginia, - - James D. Brady.
Kentucky, - -	- A. T. Wood.	West Virginia, - C. D. Hubbard.
Maine, - -	- Lewis Barker.	Wisconsin, Joseph V. Quarles.
Maryland, - -	J. Morrison Harris.	Arizona, - - J. S. Vosburg.
Massachusetts, - -	- J. M. Barker.	Dakota, - - C. T. McCoy.
Michigan, - -	- George A. Farr.	Dist. of Columbia, John F. Cook.
Minnesota, - -	- D. Sinclair.	Idaho, - - Jonas W. Brown.
Mississippi, -	- Charles W. Clarke.	Montana, - - Robert E. Fisk.
Missouri, - -	Robert T. VanHorn.	New Mexico, Wm. L. Rynerson.
Nebraska, - -	- J. W. Dawes.	Utah, - - Presley Denny.
Nevada, - -	- T. D. Edwards.	Washington, Thomas H. Brents.
New Hampshire, Chas. Holman.		Wyoming, - - W. A. Cartee.

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Alabama, -	Benjamin S. Turner.	New Jersey, -	James Gopsill.
Arkansas, -	O. P. Snyder.	New York, -	Henry R. Pierson.
California, -	John Mansfield.	North Carolina, -	Rufus Barringer.
Colorado, -	John A. Ellett.	Ohio, -	Alphonso Hart.
Connecticut, -	John M. Douglas.	Oregon, -	O. P. Tompkins.
Delaware, -	Christian Febiger.	Pennsylvania, -	Howard J. Reeder.
Florida, -	V. J. Shipman.	Rhode Island, -	A. K. Goodwin.
Georgia, -	Madison Davis.	South Carolina, -	W. J. Whipper.
Illinois, -	Rich'd. Whiting.	Tennessee, -	W. T. Cate.
Indiana, -	Jacob J. Todd.	Texas, -	W. H. Hakes.
Iowa, -	John M. Sharp.	Vermont, -	Henry C. Belden.
Kansas, -	S. S. Benedict.	Virginia, -	H. Clay Harris.
Kentucky, -	Morris C. Hutchins.	West Virginia, -	J. H. Riley.
Maine, -	L. G. Downes.	Wisconsin, -	William E. Carter.
Maryland, -	Charles T. Westcott.	Arizona, -	J. S. Vosburg.
Massachusetts, -	W. B. S. Hopkins.	Dakota, -	Porter Warner.
Michigan, -	E. C. Watkins.	Dist. of Columbia, -	John F. Cook.
Minnesota, -	J. V. Daniels.	Idaho, -	George L. Shoup.
Mississippi, -	James Hill.	Montana, -	Robert E. Fisk.
Missouri, -	Luther C. Slavens.	New Mexico, -	William Breeden.
Nebraska, -	V. Bierbower.	Utah, -	V. M. C. Silva.
Nevada, -	E. Strother.	Washington, -	Thomas T. Miner.
New Hampshire, -	Sam'l W. Hale.	Wyoming, -	W. A. Cartee.

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Alabama, -	J. H. Thomasson.	New Hampshire, -	James G. Sturgis.
Arkansas, -	J. H. Johnson.	New Jersey, -	C. H. Sinnickson.
California, -	E. A. Davis.	New York, -	George H. Sharpe.
Colorado, -	M. N. Megrue.	North Carolina, -	O. H. Blocker.
Connecticut, -	Daniel Chadwick.	Ohio, -	James A. Garfield. <i>Chair</i>
Delaware, -	Benjamin Burton.	Oregon, -	D. C. Ireland.
Florida, -	James Dean.	Pennsylvania, -	W. H. Armstrong.
Georgia, -	R. D. Locke.	Rhode Island, -	Thomas W. Chase.
Illinois, -	A. W. Metcalf.	South Carolina, -	Charles M. Wilder.
Indiana, -	Byron W. Langdon.	Tennessee, -	J. M. Cordell.
Iowa, -	S. M. Clark.	Texas, -	William Chambers.
Kansas, -	George H. Case.	Vermont, -	John B. Meade.
Kentucky, -	W. Godfrey Hunter.	Virginia, -	W. R. Watkins.
Maine, -	Llewellyn Powers.	West Virginia, -	A. C. Moore.
Maryland, -	Jacob J. Weaver, Jr.	Wisconsin, -	A. I. Turner.
Massachusetts, -	Robt. M. Morse, Jr.	Arizona, -	J. S. Vosburg.
Michigan, -	J. H. Chandler.	Idaho, -	George L. Shoup.
Minnesota, -	E. F. Drake.	Montana, -	Henry N. Blake.
Mississippi, -	H. C. Carter.	Utah, -	Presley Denny.
Missouri, -	Thomas B. Rodgers.	Washington, -	Thomas H. Brents.
Nebraska, -	J. L. Mitchell.	Wyoming, -	M. C. Brown.
Nevada, -	W. W. Bishop.		

CORRECTION.

At the conclusion of the roll-call, (the Territory of Utah having been omitted from the call):

Mr. FRYE, of Maine. I notice that in the call the Territory of Utah was omitted. I know of no reason at all for its omission, and I therefore move that the Territory be called.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the Territory be called, as of course, unless some objection be made.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. There is objection, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It is moved by the gentleman from Maine that the Territory of Utah be called.

Mr. CONKLING. I rise to a question of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his question of order.

Mr. CONKLING. It is this: the National Committee, through its proper organ, prepared and presented a roll on which, as I am informed, the State of Louisiana, for one, was omitted. The Territory of Utah, because of a contest, was omitted. The resolution under which the Convention has acted was based on that roll, and it has been called; and I submit that it is not in order, after the execution of that resolution, to move either that Utah or Louisiana, or any other State or Territory omitted, now be placed upon the roll. I have no right, Mr. Chairman, to speak of the merits, but, whenever a motion in respect to Utah is in order, I beg to be heard upon the merits of that controversy.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is of the opinion that the roll referred to in the resolve which has been adopted by the Convention is the roll prepared by the National Committee, and that the order of the Convention embraced in that resolution has been executed; but the Chair cannot hold as a matter of order that it is out of order to now move to call another Territory.

Mr. CONKLING. Will the Chair allow me to say a word? I inquire of the Chair whether it is in order for me to amend the motion by adding as well, the State of Louisiana?

The CHAIRMAN. Undoubtedly.

Mr. CONKLING. I do not make that motion, nor do I appeal from the decision of the Chair, but, with great respect to the Chair, I beg to say that, like many delegates around me, we understood, in voting for the resolution of the gentleman from Maine, that the Convention and all concerned were to stand to and abide by the agreed-on roll.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the resolution.

Mr. FRYE, of Maine. Being a member of the National Committee, and having taken part in all of the proceedings of that committee since we have been in session in this city, I desire to say to the Convention and to the gentleman from New York, that it was agreed by that committee that Utah should be put on the roll; and, Mr. Chairman, I desire to say further, that the Secretary of the National Committee, standing right by me here, says that he left Utah off by mistake. Now, sir, I take it that a convention of Republicans are willing to rectify a mistake made by the Secretary of the National Committee.

Mr. CONKLING. I regret that the honorable gentleman from Maine, who is so able to make us all hear, should have made a motion so utterly misleading—if what he now says is true, and I do not doubt that it is. Had that gentleman stated that there was a mistake in making up the roll, he would have heard no objection from me. And, Mr. Chairman, in that event, the Convention would have heard no motion from him, because all that was necessary to obtain unanimous consent in this Convention was to say that an error had been committed, and everybody would be for the rectification of that error. Now, I beg to say, upon the simple statement

of the gentleman from Maine, that an error has been committed, if he does not have unanimous consent, without a motion, to correct it, it shall not be because I object.

Mr. FRYE. In reply to the gentleman from New York, I desire to say that, when I made my motion I had just been informed that Utah had been left off. I knew it was the agreement that it should go on. The secretary was not near me, so that I might inquire. He came to me after my motion was made.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there further objection to the resolution? The Chair hears none, and it is adopted.

The Territory of Utah was then called.

#### CONTESTING DELEGATIONS.

Mr. McCORMICK, of Arizona. I offer the following resolution, which I send to the Secretary to be read.

The CHAIRMAN. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

*Resolved*, That the roll of the States and Territories be called for the presentation of credentials and for notice of contest, and that all such papers be referred without statement or debate, to the Committee on Credentials.

The resolution was adopted.

The roll of States was then called, and such credentials as had not already been submitted to the Committee on Credentials were handed to the Secretary of the Convention.

During the roll-call.

On the call of the State of Alabama.

Mr. PARSONS, of Alabama. I desire to give notice that James T. Rapier claims to be a delegate elected from the Fourth Congressional district of Alabama.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is informed that in the case of most of the States and Territories, the credentials have already been given to the member of the Committee on Credentials from that State; and, if no objection is made, the announcement that that has been done from any State will be regarded as a compliance with the order of the Convention. Wherever notice is given of a contest, such notice will be received by the Convention. The gentleman from Alabama, [Mr. Parsons,] gives notice of a contest from his State.

Mr. PARSONS. I also give notice of a contest on the part of William H. Smith and Willard Warner, who claim to have been elected from the Seventh district of the State to the seats now claimed by A. Bingham and R. A. Mosely, of that district.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I hold in my hand——

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. HENDERSON. To give notice of a contest.

The CHAIRMAN. From what State?

Mr. HENDERSON. Illinois.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not in order at this time. Arkansas is now to be called.



On the call of the State of Illinois.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I desire to introduce credentials and memorials on behalf of certain delegates from the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth and Seventeenth Congressional districts of Illinois.

On the call of the State of Indiana.

Mr. HARRISON, of Indiana. Do I understand that the original certificates of membership are to be sent to the Chair, or simply a list certified by the chairman and secretary of the delegation?

The CHAIRMAN. The credentials of members, or such documents as they regard as their credentials and rely on as such, under the order of the Convention must be sent to the Chair, unless they have already been sent to the Secretary of the Convention, or to the Committee on Credentials.

On the call of the State of Louisiana.

Mr. WARMOTH, of Louisiana. I will present to the Committee on Credentials the credentials of the contesting delegates from the State of Louisiana, elected at the convention held in New Orleans on the 24th of May. There are a great many of them, and I want to know if it will be in order to hand them in immediately to the Committee on Credentials?

The CHAIRMAN. That, of course, will be done unless objection is made.

On the call of the State of New York, there being no response.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no response from the State of New York. What will be done with it?

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. If I heard aright the announcement of the Chair, it was that where credentials had been handed to the State's member of the committee, that is a compliance with the rule. I have no doubt the credentials of New York have been so handed.

On the call of the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. BEAVER, of Pennsylvania. The credentials of the Pennsylvania delegation are in the hands of the Committee on Credentials. However, I am requested to send to the Secretary, to be transmitted to that Committee, separate credentials for the members from the Sixth Congressional district of Pennsylvania. I am requested also to send to the Secretary the credentials of members from the Ninth Congressional district, in which there is a contest. These papers will be sent to the Secretary to be transmitted to the Committee.

On the call of the Territory of Utah.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. Being requested to do so by Republicans of Utah, I beg to present the protest and the papers constituting the contest from that Territory.

The CHAIRMAN. This concludes the roll of the States and Territories. What is the further pleasure of the Convention?

THE VETERAN SOLDIERS' ASSOCIATION.

Mr. LOGAN, of Illinois. I desire to offer the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Distribution of Tickets is hereby instructed to furnish each day to the Chairman of the Veteran Soldiers' Association, five hundred tickets of admission for distribution among the veteran Union soldiers.

I desire to say one word, sir, in reference to that resolution. The veterans have had a meeting in the city of Chicago, and are here, and have expected that at least they would be treated as they have been in former National Conventions. In 1868, in the city of Chicago, I was Chairman of the Veteran Association, and marched into the National Convention at the head of these veterans, and that by the invitation of the National Republican Convention. Application was made to the National Committee for their admission to this Republican Convention, and I am told — however, not being a member of that committee, I cannot vouch for the truth of the statement — that it was voted down in that committee. If that be true, I ask this Convention to do for them that justice which has been done by every other Convention where the application has been made. On looking around and observing seats unoccupied all day to-day, I ask what Republican will say that the veteran soldiers, many of them wearing wooden legs — the men that saved your Nation — should not be furnished with tickets of admission to this Convention? There are among them veteran soldiers who support each and every candidate whose name will be presented here. It is not for that that I ask their admission; but it is that these men, who in time of trial went forth and saved their country, and nine-tenths of whom are Republicans, should not be denied their rights.

Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to complain, nor do I complain, of the National Committee, but, sir, this morning when I entered this Convention, although a delegate-at-large from Illinois, I had to enter it without a ticket of admission as a delegate, excepting a provisional ticket given me by a man appointed by that committee. I went to every member of that committee whom I could find, and they finally said that they gave no such instructions. No man questioning my right to a seat in this hall, I was not permitted to enter this hall with a delegate's ticket. I entered with a ticket signed by James P. Root. Now, sir, I do not say this by way of complaint; I am here; but I want to see admitted these men that have asked this committee to be permitted to look upon the Convention. They do not desire to come here to make a noise. They do not desire to come here to cheer for any man, but ask merely that they may be permitted, as men who have served their country faithfully, to look upon this Convention that nominates the candidate for whom they are asked to vote.

Mr. KILPATRICK, of New Jersey. I desire to say just one word. With all my heart I second the resolution of the gentleman from Illinois. The men for whom he pleads here to-day were my constant and well loved companions on many a bloody battlefield. I do not care whom they may favor in this Convention, they have a right to be here to look upon it. There are men who have received tickets to this Convention from their friends who do not pretend to have done what these brave soldiers did, not only for the grand old Republican party of the Nation, but for the Nation itself. I will never turn my back upon a soldier, no matter for whom he votes or whom he may favor in this Convention.

The resolution was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair awaits the further pleasure of the Convention.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Secretary announced that the Committee on Resolutions, Permanent Organization, and Rules and Order of Business were requested to meet immediately for consultation.

#### ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. [The hour being 3 p. m.] *Mr. Chairman*: There are now four Committees of the Convention absent to commence their duties. It is possible that one or two of these Committees might be able to report in season for an evening session, but the others cannot be able to report before to-morrow morning. Until reports are received from all these Committees, more especially from the Committee on Credentials and Contested Seats, no business can well proceed in the Convention. Therefore, at the suggestion of a number of delegates, and in accordance with my own judgment, I suggest that our convenience would be consulted, and that probably we should conclude our labors sooner, were we now to adjourn to a convenient hour in the morning. And at that hour I hope all Committees will be ready, and that then the actual business of the Convention may begin, and that we may speedily conclude the work which has, in my belief, so much to do with the future welfare of the country.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I move that the Convention do now adjourn to meet to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. Chairman*—

Mr. CONKLING. I withdraw the motion for a moment to hear any suggestion.

Mr. HALE. I only rise to say that it seems to me that the proposition made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] is one that does accord with the condition of the business before this Convention. If we had an evening session, not more than one, or possibly two, of the Committees, upon whose reports probably no division would arise, could report. It would only be the bringing of delegates here for a brief time, and for business that could be as well accomplished in the early hours of to-morrow morning, and I hope that the suggestion embodied in the motion of the gentleman from New York, will now prevail, and that the Committees may have full scope to work from now on until to-morrow morning.

Mr. CONKLING. I now renew my motion.

The motion was agreed to.

So the Convention, at three o'clock and five minutes, p. m., adjourned to to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock.

SECOND DAY—THURSDAY, June 3, 1880.—11 A. M.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Convention met.

The CHAIRMAN. The Rev. Dr. Noble, of Chicago, will offer prayer.

Dr. Noble offered the following

PRAYER:

Almighty and most merciful God, our Heavenly Father, reverently, and in faith and love, do we bow before Thee, that we may acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and render the ascription of honor which is due to Thy great name. In Thy keeping are the dispositions of men and the destinies of nations. We rejoice in it that Thou art infinite in Thy wisdom and marvelous in Thy love. Now we come to Thee that we may receive from Thee, Who art the source and centre of all light, that instruction and guidance necessary for the right discharge of the duties of this hour. Gathered together from all the States and Territories of this great Nation, to consult concerning the interests of the time to come, be Thou gracious, O God, and bestow in Thy tender mercy so much of wisdom as may be necessary for the right acquittal by each, of the duty he has to perform. We pray for our Nation. We thank Thee for it; and our supplication is that, as we have received it from our fathers, through their wisdom and their sacrifice in the years that are gone, so we may be true to all its interests and perpetuate it unto our children, that they may carry it down to their children's children through the generations that are to come. And may peace be in all our borders. May all our customs, and all our laws, and all our institutions become more and more penetrated with the wisdom of Jesus Christ.

Our Father, who art in Heaven: Hallowed be Thy name: Thy Kingdom come: Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For Thine is the Kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

MOTION FOR RECESS.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. *Mr. Chairman:* I beg to inquire of the Chair, if the Chair has the information, whether the Committee on Contested Seats and Credentials is ready to report?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has no authentic information on that subject, but has been told by some persons who claimed to know, that that Committee would not be likely to be ready for several hours.

Mr. CONKLING. May I inquire of the Chair the time, as far as the Chair is informed, when the Committee will be likely to be ready to report?

The CHAIRMAN. Some gentleman on the platform—the Chair is unable to remember now whom, or to vouch for the authenticity of the information—said that that committee would not be able to report before four o'clock. Perhaps some other person is better informed.

Mr. CONKLING. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will wait one moment. The Secretary now informs the Chair that he left that committee about half an hour since, and they informed him that they probably would not report before four o'clock.

Mr. CONKLING. *Mr. Chairman:* The information we have in this part of the house is the information the Convention has received from the Chair, namely, that the Committee on Credentials and Contested Seats will in no event be ready to make report before four o'clock. Every delegate must see that, before proceeding to any business of importance, the membership of the Convention must be ascertained. We must know who are and who are not its members, before the transaction of business can begin. This being the necessity of the case, I rise, Mr. Chairman, at the suggestion of a large number of delegates, to submit a motion which I confess I make with great reluctance; because, like others, I am very anxious that the Convention should finish its business in order that we may depart to our homes. But, being here, we are compelled, of course, not only to do our duty, but to submit to its inconveniences and necessities. Therefore, in the hope of saving time, and trusting that all committees by that time will be ready to report, I now move that the Convention take a recess until—I will say—six o'clock this evening. I mention that hour because it will enable delegates in the meantime to take their dinners, come here in the cool of the day, and give us an evening session of hours enough, I trust, to advance, and greatly advance, the business of the Convention. I therefore submit the motion I have proposed.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York moves—

Mr. HALE, of Maine. I ask the gentleman from New York if he will yield for a moment.

Mr. CONKLING. For what purpose?

Mr. HALE. For the purpose of making some remarks upon the motion.

Mr. CONKLING. I wish to take the sense of the Convention upon the motion, and, therefore, I think it better to insist upon it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York moves that the Convention take a recess until six o'clock.

Mr. HALE. Then I rise to a point of order, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. HALE. I make the point of order that a motion to take a recess, to a time certain, is clearly a debatable motion. It is contradistinguished in its—

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will hold the motion debatable.

Mr. HALE. *Mr. Chairman:* I rise to oppose the motion of the gentleman from New York. Nearly eight hundred delegates, representing all of the United States and Territories, have been assembled in this city during the last four or five days, and have been eager to proceed to the business that has brought them here from their constituents. We met upon yesterday, and by common consent—for I had the pleasure then of concurring with the gentleman from New York; we adjourned with the clear understanding that upon this morning, giving last evening up to other matters, the Convention should go to work. Now it is claimed that because the Committee on Credentials is not ready to report, the whole Convention must be hung in a condition of suspended animation and can do nothing; and it is with some force urged that until we know our membership nothing can be done. But, Mr. Chairman, in Republican Conventions heretofore, much business has been done before the Committee

on Credentials, which necessarily must be the latest Committee to be ready to report, brings in its final or preliminary report. I hold in my hand the official record of the proceedings of the Convention of 1876, the last one before this, which was held in Cincinnati, and I find that the same condition of things confronted that Convention that confronts us now at this hour. The Committee on Credentials was the hard-working Committee of the Convention. The Committee on Credentials was the last one of the committees of the Convention to report. It was not ready to report at once, as other Committees were ready, because of the hard work upon it. But the Convention wanted to do business, as the gentleman will find, and I call it to the attention of the gentleman from New York. I do not need to do this, because with his thorough preparation upon everything before this Convention, he has it already familiarly in his mind. The first thing was the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. If the gentleman will look at page 27 of the official report, he will find that, represented by the gentleman from Massachusetts, Dr. Loring, the Committee on Permanent Organization reported. It was then, as I believe it is now, an uncontested report; and there was unanimous consent that time should not be misspent in repeated adjournment; but that *that* Committee being ready, the Convention should go on and organize permanently, ready for business. And when that was done, and the permanent organization had been effected, and the speech of the Permanent Chairman had been made, then, as gentlemen will find, if they will refer to page 24 of those proceedings, the Committee on Rules and Order of Business stood ready, knocking at the door of the Convention. And the Convention of 1876, like this Convention, with the same object, and in the same situation, took up the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business; and that was disposed of. The Committee on Credentials was not ready, and did not report until afterwards, as it is found on page 39.

Mr. Chairman, this Convention is ready for business. We can, in the hours between now and five o'clock this afternoon, organize this Convention permanently, as has been done before. We can then take up, for I understand the Committee on Rules and Order of Business is ready to report, the report of that Committee, and can dispose of it; and, when six o'clock comes, can assemble here in our evening session and do the business of the Committee on Credentials. I do not believe that this Convention is ready to throw away the time between now and then.

In answer to the proposition that we must know our membership before we organize, I can only invoke the precedents of the past, and trust that the Convention will maintain them. I will take up no further time.

Mr. CONKLING. I find, Mr. Chairman, that I have been able to establish an unexpected claim to the gratitude of the Convention. But for the little motion which I had the honor to submit, the Convention and the country would have been deprived of the eloquent speech of my distinguished friend from Maine.

The motion was one of mere convenience, and I beg to assure my honorable and amiable friend that he need not be at all timid in respect of any possible effect it will have upon the cause in which he is so strenuously zealous.

The gentleman from Maine says the Convention is ready to go to work. The only work we shall do between now and four or five o'clock is to sit here idle on uncushioned seats,—fortunately with

backs, while a vast number of other persons sit in the galleries on benches without either cushions or backs; and the whole question is, whether, for the comfort of all concerned, we shall pass the time here in waiting, or let everybody take care of himself. Mr. Chairman, it is an open secret, and I allude to it because the gentleman from Maine has done so, he says the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization is an uncontested report—it is an open secret that the present organization of the Convention, as to its head, is to be continued, and, although the honorable Presiding Officer comes from the same portion of the country which gives us the gentlemen from Maine, (a region peopled chiefly by orators.) [Laughter.] I hardly believe that our Chairman will feel bound to indulge the Convention in a second presiding speech. Therefore, could the honorable gentleman have a report from the Committee on Permanent Organization, and have action upon it forthwith, to which I have no objection, he would have a proceeding which, whenever it occurs, will not occupy ten minutes of the time of the Convention; and, when that proceeding has occurred, we shall have come to the confines of present progress, unless we intend to do that which, on reflection, no delegate will advise.

Mr. Chairman, there are very grave questions concerning the membership of the Convention,—questions which go deep in regard to the organization of the Republican party, and in respect of the rights of States. It has been said in the public journals, that among the rules to be reported to us,—and I suppose there is no impropriety in alluding to the public journals,—is a rule restricting to a debate of five minutes, in the case of every delegate, all questions whatsoever. The Committee on Rules and Proceedings, knowing the manifest impropriety of applying such a rule to the questions which may come from the Committee on Contested Seats, have, I am told, instructed the Chairman of the Committee on Rules not even to propose to the Convention any rule whatever, until the Committee on Credentials has reported, and until action is taken on the last question which shall come from that Committee. I beg leave, as one member of the Convention, to express my respect for the forethought of the Committee on Rules in adopting that resolution. So that there is no business which can properly be transacted until we have reports from the Committee on Contested Seats. And unless my honorable friend from Maine will give me some hope that we may have the pleasure of listening farther to him, I feel strongly inclined to insist upon my motion; or, to change it to a motion that the Convention do now adjourn until six o'clock. But, Mr. Chairman, I will not make that motion if any member of the Convention rises to debate it. If no one rises to speak, I will make it, satisfied as I am, and most reluctantly, that the wisest thing we can do is to come here fresh, in the cool of the day, prepared to stay as many hours as shall be necessary to advance the business which brought us together.

Mr. HALE. *Mr. Chairman:* I have only one suggestion to make. It is purely a point of parliamentary law that should guide us. My remark shall be in answer to the argumentative part of the speech of the gentleman from New York, of the infirmity of this Convention to do any business. We are already organized with members here with *prima facie* seats ready to do business as suggested. The point is that until all doubtful questions of seats be settled no business can be done. All I can say is, apply that rule to any legislative body in the land, and you never could move or pass a motion to do business until every contested seat was settled.

The House of Representatives at Washington is to-day engaged in the settling of contested seats, although it has been in session, in all, eight months. The Senate of the United States, of which the gentleman is so distinguished a member, is to-day engaged in settling a contested seat—that from Louisiana. The gentleman from New York has taken part, I doubt not, in that contest; but all that time he and others were doing business there for the country, and proceeding in the course of business from day to day; and that is answer enough for us.

Now, one thing more, Mr. Chairman. I shall not enter with the gentleman the field of irony and sarcasm, in which he is so expert. The little power that I have has been cultivated in other directions. I leave that to him, only saying that if I am less raspy than he this morning, and am more amiable than he, this vast audience knows why it is so.

The motion for a recess was not agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Convention refuses to adjourn. The Chair awaits the further pleasure of the Convention.

Mr. JOY, of Michigan. Is it in order, Mr. Chairman, for me to make a motion?

The CHAIRMAN. It is in order.

Mr. JOY. I move, then, that the contestants in the election for the contested seats in Illinois shall have the right to be heard before this Convention, by such counsel as they may select. I will send my resolution to the desk.

The Secretary read as follows:

*Resolved*, That the contestants for the disputed seats, in the Illinois delegation, shall have the right to be heard before this Convention, by such counsel as they may select.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. I move to lay that resolution on the table.

Mr. CASSODAY, of Wisconsin. I rise to a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. CASSODAY. The point of order is that there is no knowledge in this Convention of any contest yet in the State of Illinois, and will not be until the report of the Committee on Credentials.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair decides the point not well taken. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from West Virginia to lay on the table the resolution offered by the gentleman from Michigan. [After putting the question:] The Chair is unable to decide as to the vote, and will direct the roll of States to be called. As the Secretary calls the roll the Chairman of each delegation will announce the vote in his delegation for or against the proposition. Gentlemen in favor of laying the resolution on the table, will, as the roll is called say "Aye;" and those opposed, "No."

Mr. LOGAN, of Illinois. I rise to a question of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his question of order.

Mr. LOGAN. My point of order is, first, that the credentials of the sitting delegates and contestants are now before the Committee on Credentials, who have not reported; that it is out of order to proceed to any business in connection with that question until the Committee on Credentials do make their report. Again, that there are no rules yet established for this Convention. This Convention not



being organized, rules cannot be established until it is organized, except for temporary organization.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is of opinion that it is in order for the Convention to prescribe a rule or mode of proceeding which shall govern it when that question which must be settled as a part of its organization is before it. The Chair, therefore, overrules the point of order. The Secretary will proceed with the roll.

Mr. FRYE, of Maine. A large number of delegates have found it impossible to hear the question on which this roll is to be called, and ask that it be re-stated.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will re-state it. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Joy] moves the following resolution:

The resolution was again read.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from West Virginia, [Mr. Campbell,] moves to lay the resolution on the table. Gentlemen in favor of laying the resolution on the table will, as the roll of the States is called, say "Aye;" those opposed "No."

A DELEGATE. Is debate in order?

The CHAIRMAN. A motion to lay on the table is not debatable. The Chair will state that, in strictness, no point of order can be made, the Convention having begun to divide.

Mr. LOGAN, of Illinois. If the Chair will allow me, I desire to ask the gentleman who made the motion to lay this resolution on the table, if he will withdraw it for one moment.

Mr. JOY. I will withdraw the resolution for the present.

The CHAIRMAN. The mover of the resolution withdraws the resolution for the present. It is not before the Convention.

#### PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. I move that the Convention proceed to its permanent organization, and that the Committee on Permanent Organization be asked to report.

The motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee are instructed now to report.

Mr. PIERSON, of New York. Mr. *Chairman*: The Committee on Permanent Organization have prepared a report so far as they can. The Committee were entirely unanimous and entirely harmonious. I am happy to say that there was not a single question upon which the Committee did not agree. The States named their candidates for Vice-Presidents and Secretaries. They adopted a resolution that these men must unquestionably be delegates to the Convention. The State of Illinois, which is in contest, had a member on that Committee. The delegate from that State upon that Committee gave us some names. There had been an informal discussion: I state it informally, and not by the direction of the Committee. The State of Illinois was known to be in conflict, and the Committee are not able to say whether the names upon our report are names that will turn out to be members of the Convention or not. With that statement I am prepared to make the report if the Convention declare it shall be made.

The CHAIRMAN. The report of the Committee will be read.

The Secretary read as follows :

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

The Committee on Permanent Organization have attended to the duty assigned them, and beg leave to report that the temporary organization be the permanent organization, with the addition of George M. Buchanan, of Mississippi, as an additional Secretary, and the following list of Vice-Presidents and Assistant Secretaries, consisting of one from each State and Territory:

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Alabama, - - -	James Gillette	New Hampshire, -	Joel Eastman
Arkansas, - - -	H. B. Robinson	New Jersey, -	Judson Kilpatrick
California, - - -	John Mansfield	New York, -	Chester A. Arthur
Colorado, - - -	Lafayette Head	North Carolina, -	D. H. Starbuck
Connecticut, - -	Jeremiah Olney	Ohio, - - -	D. M. Harkness
Delaware, - - -	Albert Curry	Oregon, - - -	O. P. Tompkins
Florida, - - -	Sherman Conant	Pennsylvania, -	Hamilton Disston
Georgia, - - -	S. A. Darnell	Rhode Island, -	Isaac M. Potter
Illinois, - - -	John Wentworth	South Carolina, -	W. F. Myers
Indiana, - - -	Francis Atkinson	Tennessee, - - -	W. Y. Elliott
Iowa, - - -	J. W. Thompson	Texas, - - -	W. H. Holland
Kansas, - - -	Simon Matz	Vermont, - - -	J. G. McCullough
Kentucky, - - -	Gen. E. H. Hebson	Virginia, - - -	William H. Pleasants
Louisiana, - - -	David Young	West Virginia, -	J. T. Hoke
Maine, - - -	Jos. R. Bodwell	Wisconsin, - - -	Philetus Sawyer
Maryland, - - -	H. J. Brown	Arizona, - - -	Richard C. McCormick
Massachusetts, -	Nath'l A. Horton	Dakota, - - -	Porter Warner
Michigan, - - -	Perry Hannah	Dis. of Columbia, -	Sayles J. Bowen
Minnesota, - - -	D. Morrison	Idaho, - - -	George L. Shoup
Mississippi, - - -	B. K. Bruce	Montana, - - -	Robert E. Fisk
Missouri, - - -	William J. Terrell	Utah, - - -	Pressley Denny
Nebraska, - - -	D. A. Lewis	Washington, - -	Thomas H. Brents
Nevada, - - -	C. C. Stevenson	Wyoming, - - -	W. A. Carter

ASSISTANT SECRETARIES.

Alabama, -	George Washington	Massachusetts, -	Chas. W. Clifford
Arkansas, - - -	L. J. Barnes	Michigan, - - -	Morgan Bates
California, - - -	F. A. Davis	Minnesota, - - -	C. F. Kindred
Colorado, - - -	George T. Clark	Mississippi, - - -	G. W. Gayles
Connecticut, - -	N. Taylor Baldwin	Missouri, - - -	James E. Adams
Delaware, - - -	Benjamin Burton	Nebraska, - - -	V. Bierbower
Florida, - - -	E. I. Alexander	Nevada, - - -	J. J. Meigs
Georgia, - - -	W. W. Brown	New Hampshire, -	C. M. Murphy
Illinois, - - -	George W. Brinkerhoff	New Jersey, - - -	A. P. Condit
Indiana, - - -	Roscoe O. Hawkins	New York, - - -	John B. Murray
Iowa, - - -	P. W. Llewellyn	North Carolina, -	I. B. Abbott
Kansas, - - -	P. Hutchinson	Ohio, - - -	H. C. Hedges
Kentucky, - - -	J. R. Puryear	Oregon, - - -	D. C. Ireland
Louisiana, - - -	Charles Gordon	Pennsylvania, -	Wm. C. Moreland
Maine, - - -	W. W. Thomas, Jr.	Rhode Island, -	Horace A. Jenckes
Maryland, - - -	John W. Bell	South Carolina, -	W. A. Hayne

Tennessee, - - -	Fred. R. Hunt	Dakota, - - - -	Frank Veits
Texas, - - -	George N. Dilley	Idaho, - - - -	J. W. Brown
Vermont, - - -	L. B. Cross	Montana, - - -	Henry A. Blake
Virginia, - - -	M. R. De Mortie	Utah, - - - -	V. M. C. Silva
West Virginia, -	S. P. McCormick	Washington, -	Thomas T. Minor
Wisconsin, - - -	George E. Bryant	Wyoming, - - -	M. C. Brown

Respectfully submitted,

H. B. PIERSON,

*Chairman Committee on Permanent Organization.*

L. G. JONES, *Secretary.*

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. I now move the adoption of the report of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. [Mr. PIERSON, of New York, in the Chair.] *Gentlemen of the Convention.* By the request of the Chairman, and for obvious reasons, I am to put this motion. The question is upon the adoption of the report of the Committee upon Permanent Organization.

The report was adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. *Gentlemen of the Convention.* I have now the honor of presenting to you the Hon. George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, as the Permanent President of the Convention. [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENTION. *Gentlemen of the Convention.* You have manifested in the choice you have made for permanent presiding officer a disposition to a wise economy in the matter of opening speeches. One good reason occurs to me for the selection that you have made, and that is, that having heard one speech from me, for reasons entirely satisfactory to each delegate you have no inclination to hear another. The Convention is now permanently organized.

#### RULES.

Mr. FRYE, of Maine. *Mr. President.* I understand that the Committee on Rules and Order of Business have completed their labors, and are ready to report. I move that they be requested now to make their report.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. *Mr. President.* The Committee on Rules and Order of Business spent three hours in session last evening. They labored heartily to produce a result which should tend to harmony in this Convention. They adjourned to meet this morning at nine o'clock, and the last vote was taken only ten minutes before the time fixed for the assembling of this Convention. As a result, I was instructed by the delegates from nine states to prepare a minority report, and having come here directly from the place of our assemblage, and learning that the Committee on Contested Seats was not yet ready to report, I had presumed that I would have an opportunity of preparing that report which I am instructed to make. Further than that, and before the committee adjourned, the question came up, among others, as to when our chairman, Gen. Garfield, should be instructed to make his report, and after a harmonious discussion of it, it was unanimously considered that that report was not to be made until after the Committee on Contested Seats had made their report, and the results had been ascertained. I am, therefore, not prepared to carry out the order of those who were associated with

me upon the committee, and I hope that the motion of the gentleman upon my left, [Mr. Frye] which would throw some discord into our committee, may be, for the present, withdrawn.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Maine press his motion?

Mr. FRYE. I desire to ask information of the chairman of the committee. Of course, if it was agreed in committee that there should be an expression of the views of the minority, I should not then press my motion. I understand the chairman is present, and I desire to know what the agreement was, if any.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. The Committee on Rules finished its business at about eleven o'clock by adopting a body of rules and an order of business. A resolution was then offered by one member of the committee that it was the judgment of the committee that the report ought to be made after the report of the Committee on Credentials. That was adopted, whether unanimously or not, I am unable to say, for the committee was about breaking up. General Sharpe requested that a minority of that committee might have leave to offer their views as a minority report, and no objection was made. No vote was taken on that latter topic. I do not propose to, and shall not at this time, tender a report of the Committee on Rules. I am, however, like every other delegate, subject to the orders of this Convention. When they desire a report, and order it, I suppose the committee are ready to make it; but good faith requires this certainly; that if the minority is not ready with its report they ought to have time.

MOTION FOR RECESS.

Mr. FRYE. [The hour being 12:55 p. m.] I withdraw my motion, and move that the Convention now take a recess until five o'clock this afternoon.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine withdraws his first motion. It is now moved by the same gentleman, that the Convention take a recess until five o'clock this afternoon. Is the Convention ready for the question?

Mr. CONKLING. *Mr. President.* As one member of the Convention, I intend to vote for this motion, but my conscience will not be quiet in doing so until after I make some acknowledgement to our friends from Maine. I have not the heart, I say, to part with the society of my honorable friends until five o'clock—until after I have congratulated them on this happy issue out of all our afflictions. It is a matter which must stir the patriotism and gratitude of every delegate, that this Convention, in its unorganized state, sublimely rising in its might and grandeur, has been able to achieve the momentous, the critical, the portentous results which have been assured since my motion for a recess was made.

Mr. FRYE. *Mr. President.* The delegates from Maine desire me humbly to return thanks to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] for his kindly congratulations. And they desire me to say further, that they will be delighted at the close of this Convention once more to see the gentleman rise and congratulate the gentlemen from Maine. [Applause.]

ANNOUNCEMENT.

The PRESIDENT. Before putting the question, an announcement will be made at the desire of the National Committee.

compact as is indicated by the gentleman from Illinois. He did indicate that he was ready to abide by the wish of the Convention. This Convention, ready as it was then to move on with its work, was not permitted to do so, because, upon the explanation that the minority desired an opportunity to make a report, the gentleman from Maine, [Mr. Frye,] withdrew his motion. Now, Mr. President, the minority report, which should and could have been ready at twelve o'clock, is not ready yet. But the gentleman sees a monster in the Ninth Rule. I am informed that the Ninth Rule is almost *in hæc verba*, the same as was adopted by the last National Convention, and, in substance, the same as was adopted by the Convention last before that.

Have we become so changed in our ideas, in our necessities, that we must depart from the action of a Convention that nominated Gen. Grant and afterwards, Mr. Hayes? And that same Ninth Rule, we say, extends the time, as the Convention wishes, to any gentleman upon any question. As I say, it may be all very well for gentlemen here in Illinois, but there are ten thousand citizens here from every portion of this continent. They want to proceed with business. Here is an organized Convention, ready for work, and its members want to work. Mr. President, under those circumstances I insist upon my motion, that we shall proceed to consider the business that brought us here. One word more. I am informed by one of the gentlemen representing Kentucky, that the Committee-man who signed the minority report says it was ready to be reported this morning.

Mr. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts. I rise to make an inquiry. It is this,—whether the Committee, or the gentleman on the floor representing the Committee, intend to make any different proposition touching the debate upon contested questions, concerning seats in this Convention, than is provided for in the report which was published in the morning papers of this city, limiting debate to five minutes? If that be the intention, I for one, could not do otherwise than vote against the consideration of the report of the Committee on Rules. We are interested in the gravest question of American citizenship—the right of men elected by the people to represent the people. The question is whether the motto is to stand as the permanent guide of the Republican party of this country, or whether here, and now, and in this presence, it is to be disregarded—that this is “A Government of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. Will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. BOUTWELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to state, that the member of the Committee from Kentucky, states emphatically that the statement by the gentleman from Iowa is a misapprehension.

Mr. HAMILTON, of Kentucky. I desire to say that he did say so. I am responsible for it, and say to this convention—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order. The gentleman from Massachusetts has the floor.

Mr. BOUTWELL. If my friend from Iowa will allow me a word in the way of an observation, it is never safe in a public assembly to report private conversations. Now, the particular thing which I wish to know, and which, as far as I can now foresee, will decide my vote, and which, I think, ought to decide the votes of this Convention, is whether the men who claim seats on this floor are to be limited to the period of five minutes, either by themselves or by their representatives, on the discussion of this grave question. I say, as one

delegate, that I will stand here and wait till there is a judgment by the American people whether either or all these questions of great range, and of deep public concern, are to be discussed here and settled upon a debate in which those having the deepest concern are to be permitted to speak for only five minutes. There is time enough for the consideration of the grave business on which we are met. Here are forty-five millions of people waiting for our judgment, and if that judgment is honest—if we make no misstep—and if we go forward in honest paths, pursuing the accomplishment of honest purposes, the judgment we shall render, whether it be for the citizen of Maine, or for the hero of the war, will be enforced, and established, and ratified by the American people. But if we here, seven hundred selected men, decide these grave questions by a five minutes debate, through fear of a hostile result, what will the American people say? What will they do?

Mr. HARRISON, of Indiana. If I understand the question that now divides this Convention, and which seems to have provoked such acrimonious debate, it is this: The objection on the part of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Logan] to the present reception of the report of the Committee on Rules and Order is based upon the information which has come to the Convention that among those rules is one which limits debate upon all questions that come before the Convention, to five minutes. It is objected that this limitation will be unfair when the important questions of the rights of contesting and sitting delegates to seats on this floor are to be decided; and though I differ widely from the gentleman of the Illinois delegation who has spoken, and may possibly not find myself in accord with him again to-day, upon *that* question I am with him.

Whatever may have been done elsewhere—and I do not desire here to add to the acrimony of this debate by any reference to, or criticism upon, what may have been done in other conventions—in my opinion these questions ought not to be settled under a five minutes' rule. If a reasonable limit can be agreed upon, it should be done; and certainly there is sufficient fairness in this Convention to agree upon a reasonable limit—something better than five minutes. Five minutes will not be sufficient to allow one of these delegates so much as to state his claim to a seat, much less support it by precedent and argument. While I object to that limit, I equally object that the time of this Convention shall be indefinitely occupied, and its patience worn out by endless debate upon that question. Therefore I will suggest that some agreement can be made by which a convenient time ample for the fair discussion by selected persons of those questions upon which we are to sit as judges, shall be accredited to those several delegations in which there are contests, and we can proceed to the consideration of the report of the Committee on Rules. I sympathize with every delegate here in the inconvenience of this protracted stay in Chicago. I have found my former visits here pleasant, but from the bottom of my heart to my much trodden toes I have been anxious to get away this time.

But, Mr. President, I think we ought to be fair upon this question, and I am, therefore, opposed to adopting that rule before a decision of this question of contested seats, unless it can be arranged that that rule shall not apply to that question, but there should be a fair limitation of time upon that debate.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I desire but a word in reply. The argument of the distinguished representative of Massachusetts [Mr. Boutwell] and of the distinguished representative of Indiana

[Mr. Harrison] is all proper and right to be considered when the report is before this Convention. But the motion which I have made simply brings that report before the Convention. When that is done, if five minutes is too short, make it ten, twenty, or an hour, or any suitable time as to these special cases. But when the whole report is before the Convention and in our hands, I ask the gentleman need we be afraid to trust ourselves as to the time we will fix? We can amend it to suit the pleasure of the Convention. I assure the gentleman from my heart that I have no desire, nor have any of the gentlemen associated with me in support of this idea, any desire to take any unfair advantage of any one in this Convention. We desire to bring the report before us. If it does not suit us we will make it suit us, and go on with the work that is before us.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. *Mr. President*—

Mr. CLARK, of Iowa. *Mr. President*. I want simply to say—

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from New York yield?

Mr. SHARPE. Will I be entitled to the floor after he gets through?

The PRESIDENT. Certainly, the Chair will recognize the gentleman.

Mr. CLARK. I want simply to say, as the Iowa member of the Committee on Rules, that if the report comes before this Convention for action now, which I think is right and proper, and if no other member of the Convention will move to amend the rule so that it shall not apply to the report of the Committee on Credentials, I will make that motion myself, and every delegate from Iowa will vote for it.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. *Mr. President*. I am here simply by a chance to represent the minority of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. I want to say, sir, that there is no concealment about it. The report of the minority of the committee is in my pocket now, ready to be read to this Convention when it shall proceed to consider it according to the understanding of the Committee. That report is signed by the representatives of nine States—States without which the nominee of this Convention can not be elected. Now, Mr. President, I desire to state some facts that passed in the Committee on Rules, and I desire to say that I want to state them I hope, without the necessary indorsement of my brother soldier of Ohio, which it seems is necessary to the gentleman from Maine for any statement that is made on the floor of this Convention. I hope, sir, that the next National Convention will be held nearer my home, where my word is accustomed to be taken without the indorsement of any distinguished soldier. There was before this Committee on Rules and Order of Business a consideration of all the rules and order of business that has governed previous Republican Conventions. They knew very well that when the composition of the Convention was settled it would be necessary to proceed to the transaction of its business with as much alacrity as might be possible; and considering the stringency of the rule which limits debate on all questions to five minutes, they agreed among themselves that they would postpone the enforcement of that rule, until after this Convention found out of whom we were composed.

I charge that agreement upon every member of that committee.

It was placed in their hands to consider, and I say that it was an agreement which, if it was not unanimous, according to my brother soldier from Ohio, [Mr. Garfield] at all events, was made without a single dissenting voice. I propose, Mr. President, to move to amend

this resolution by inserting therein "that the Committee on Credentials be ordered to make its report," and I so move.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will first state the question. The gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] moves as a substitute for the pending resolution, that the Committee on Credentials be instructed to make its report.

Mr. GARFIELD. There is no ground for any charge whatever, and I understand none is made that bad faith has been in any way practiced by any person in connection with the Committee on Rules.

Mr. SHARPE. No, sir.

Mr. GARFIELD. The gentleman does not charge it. No one charges it. A suggestion was made in the Committee, and concurred in without division, that, so far as we were concerned, we would not move of our own motion the presentation of our report until after the report of the Committee on Credentials; but the Chairman remarked immediately, and it was also the understanding, that we had no business to control that question if the Convention ordered otherwise. The question now is: "Shall the Convention order otherwise?" and that is the only question before us.

A point has been made in regard to the time for debate; and that was one of the very considerations that led the Committee, as a matter of convenience, to think it might be well to have the Committee on Credentials report first. But when this report is made it is for this Convention to say whether that five-minute rule shall be one of its rules or not. Furthermore, that five-minute rule also provides that it is merely the ordinary duty of the Chairman to rule five minutes as the time; but it adds, "unless the Convention shall in any case otherwise order." So that it is always in the power of the Convention to extend the time on any topic, and to any person it pleases. I think the suggestion made by the gentleman from Iowa, [Mr. Henderson] following on the suggestion of the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. Logan] ought to be adopted. And, if these rules be now adopted, there should be a provision added that in the debate on the report of the Committee on Credentials a longer time should be agreed to be granted. But that is a part of our business when we come to adopt our report. That is all I have to say.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion to substitute. Is the Convention ready for the question?

Mr. CONKLING. What is the question?

The PRESIDENT. It is moved that the Committee on Rules be now directed to make their report, to which the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] moves as a substitute that the Committee on Credentials be now directed to make their report. The question is on the adoption of the substitute. Is the Convention ready for the question? Those who are will say aye—

Mr. CONKLING. Before voting on that question I would like to state the information on which I think every delegate should vote. Some hours ago a motion was made that the Convention take a recess until about this time. That motion, when submitted the second time, was adopted unanimously. What did the Convention mean, and for what purpose did this interval occur? It was to carry out the just and reasonable purpose of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. What was that purpose, as now admitted by the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. Garfield,] and as conclusively established before, because asserted, by my honored colleague by my side [Mr. Sharpe]? It was that before such rules as these should obtain, the Convention



should know and should determine of whom the Convention is composed. So proper was that, and so binding upon the Convention was the unanimous understanding of the Committee, that upon its being disclosed no man, not one, dissented from the propriety of this temporary adjournment. Now, of course, the expectation and meaning were that when we came together, as now we have come the Committee on Credentials would submit its report. *That* the Convention meant. *That* the Convention unanimously said, by plain intendment and implication, was the proper course. Why is it not the proper course now? I am told by members of the Committee on Credentials that they are ready to report, not upon one State, nor upon two States, nor upon three States, but upon nearly every case in which a contest has been referred. Why, I inquire, should not that Committee come in and make its full report if it is ready; and if not, make so much of the report as it is now ready to make, and allow us to vote as far as it has gone, upon its work?

While we are so voting, the Committee can proceed, as the Committee proceeds now; and by the time we have acted on the first section of the report, the residue will be ready. Is not that very simple? Is not that, I ask you gentlemen carrying out and executing your purpose, and your vote, this morning? It seems to me it is. And therefore, I shall vote for the amendment, Mr. President, unless some member of the Convention shall do what has not yet been done, namely: give us some reason why now we should not go on and do what this morning was agreed. If there be a reason why the Committee on Contested Seats, sitting at the Sherman House, so near that they can come in a twinkling into the Convention, - if there be any reason why their Chairman should not come in and deliver so much of the reports as consists of cases already passed upon, let us hear that reason. But, whether there be such reason or not, I submit that the good faith and the good understanding of all concerned will be observed by proceeding first to consider the report of the Committee on Contested Seats.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. *Mr. President:* In reply to the remarks of the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Conkling,] I would say that it occurs to me that there are good reasons why the amendment should not prevail. In the first place, the Committee on Rules has finished its work and is ready to report. So is the minority. In the next place, the Committee on Credentials has not finished its work, and is not ready to report. I am informed that the cases of Louisiana, West Virginia and Pennsylvania, have not yet been considered by the Committee on Credentials, and they will not be ready to report before to-morrow morning, in all probability.

Now sir, that being true, and it being also true that, if they bring in a portion of their report, and go on with their work, the members of the Committee will not be here to explain their action, or to defend their action, it must be obvious to every gentleman that they should not be interrupted until their work is completed, and they can be present in the Convention to explain and defend their work.

Now then, with these good and sufficient reasons, and with the other Committee ready; and, as the gentleman representing the minority admitted, according to the statement of the gentleman from Kentucky, that the report is made and ready to be presented, why not let us have it, and get so much of the work of the Convention completed? I suggest, Mr. President, that the sooner we get some limitation on the time and the number of the speeches the better for the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the substitute. Is the Convention ready for the question?

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. I ask for the roll call, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair supposes that in the absence of any rules, the method of taking the question must rest in the sound discretion of the Chair, subject, of course, to the order of the Convention; but the request of the gentleman from New York is so eminently proper that the Chair will direct the question to be taken in that way. The Clerk will call the roll of the States. The chairman of the respective delegations are requested to act as tellers, and to report to the Secretary the vote of delegates from their respective States on the question.

Mr. METCALF, of Illinois. I should like the question definitely stated now.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state the question again. It is moved that the Committee on Rules be directed now to report. To this the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] moves as a substitute, that the Committee on Credentials be directed now to report. The question is on the adoption of the substitute. The Clerk will call the roll of the States, and the chairmen of the respective delegations will announce the ayes and noes from their respective States.

The roll of States was then called and resulted,—yeas, 318; nays, 406, as follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama.....	20	19	1	New York.....	70	47	23
Arkansas.....	12	12	...	North Carolina.....	20	5	15
California.....	12	...	12	Ohio.....	44	3	41
Colorado.....	6	6	...	Oregon.....	6	...	6
Connecticut.....	12	...	12	Pennsylvania.....	58	31	23
Delaware.....	6	...	6	Rhode Island.....	8	...	8
Florida.....	8	8	...	South Carolina.....	14	7	5
Georgia.....	22	6	16	Tennessee.....	24	16	7
Illinois.....	42	42	...	Texas.....	16	9	7
Indiana.....	30	6	23	Vermont.....	10	10	...
Iowa.....	22	...	22	Virginia.....	22	11	8
Kansas.....	10	...	10	West Virginia.....	10	...	10
Kentucky.....	24	20	4	Wisconsin.....	20	2	18
Louisiana.....	16	...	...	Arizona.....	2	...	2
Maine.....	14	...	14	Dakota.....	2	1	1
Maryland.....	16	7	8	District of Columbia..	2	2	...
Massachusetts.....	26	7	17	Idaho.....	2	...	2
Michigan.....	22	1	21	Montana.....	2	...	2
Minnesota.....	10	3	6	New Mexico.....	2	...	2
Mississippi.....	16	8	7	Utah.....	2	...	2
Missouri.....	30	29	1	Washington.....	2	...	2
Nebraska.....	6	...	6	Wyoming.....	2	...	2
Nevada.....	6	...	6				
New Hampshire.....	10	...	10	Total.....	756	318	406
New Jersey.....	18	...	18				

So the substitute was not agreed to.

During the vote:—

Upon the call of the State of Alabama:

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama. Alabama votes twenty aye.

Mr. ALEXANDER, of Alabama. I desire to vote no.

The PRESIDENT.—Does the gentleman from Alabama desire that his vote should be received in the negative?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDENT. It will be so recorded.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I desire to explain, sir.

The PRESIDENT. No explanation is in order.

### On the call of the State of Kentucky :

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. Under instructions from the convention of the State of Kentucky, Kentucky casts twenty-four votes aye.

Mr. HAMILTON, of Kentucky. I protest against the vote given by the Chairman of the delegation. There are four members of the delegation who desire to vote "No."

Mr. WHITE. I wish to state—

Mr. HAMILTON. You can not deprive us of our votes.

Mr. HUBBARD, of Kentucky. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Kentucky is out of order. Does the gentleman from Kentucky desire that his vote may be changed from the affirmative to the negative?

Mr. HUBBARD. He does, sir—four of us. There are four "stalwarts" from Kentucky.

The PRESIDENT. The vote of the gentleman from Kentucky will be recorded in the negative.

Mr. HAMILTON. *Mr. President—*

Mr. HUBBARD. I have the floor.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Kentucky has not the floor for any purpose except to declare his vote. If any other gentleman from Kentucky desires to claim the same privilege he will be recognized.

Mr. HAMILTON. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Kentucky is out of order. No business is now in order except the calling of the roll. Any other questions may be settled by the Convention as it pleases when the roll-call is over.

Mr. CONKLING. That is right.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will permit no delegate to interrupt the roll-call, except when an individual delegate rises and claims that his vote has been improperly reported by the chairman of his delegation, and it will be recorded by the Secretary. Does any other delegate from Kentucky rise for that purpose?

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. Kentucky votes twenty yea; four nay.

The PRESIDENT. The Chairman of the Kentucky delegation now announces that there are four dissenting voters. They will be so recorded.

### On the call of the State of Michigan :

Mr. JOY, of Michigan. One of the Michigan delegation is upon the Committee on Credentials. Have we a right to cast his vote in his absence, knowing how he will vote?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks not. The Secretary will proceed with the roll.

### On the announcement of the vote of the State of New York :

Mr. ROBERTSON, of New York. I think the chairman of the delegation has made a mistake of one. There are only sixty-nine delegates present, and the vote should be forty-six ayes and twenty-three noes.

Mr. CONKLING. I have in my hand, having taken some care to make the canvass, a list on this vote of the delegates from New York, and my information is that every seat is full, either in the person of the delegate or his alternate. So that the vote, as shown and stated, is forty-seven one way, and twenty-three the other way.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair must accept the statement of the chairman of the delegation unless an individual delegate rises and states that his vote is wrongly recorded. At the close of the roll-call, if any question arises, it will be settled by the Convention.

The vote was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. The substitute is rejected. The question recurs on the original resolution.

Mr. BRANDAGEE, of Connecticut. *Mr. President:* I desire to make a motion which I believe to be in the interest of order, of harmony, and of peace. Many of the delegates who voted upon the proposition, or amendment, which has just been rejected, and notably the delegation from Connecticut, of which I am a member, voted No upon that question because they did not believe that the Committee on Credentials should be forced to make a report in installments while we supposed it would be necessary for them to be upon the floor of the Convention to sustain and explain their report. It, therefore, was not in the interest of expediting the business of the Convention that the Committee on Credentials should be made to come into the Convention and make their report.

We voted against it on that ground, but now, sir, I do believe that it was a fair understanding, if not an agreement, in the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, that the Committee should not report until after the report of the Committee on Credentials had been acted on. But nothing will be gained here by an attempt to crowd anything through. I have listened with interest and delight to the champions and the giants who have engaged in the preliminary skirmishes here. I am no champion, and I have no "boom," sir, to engineer through this Convention. We have no candidate in Connecticut that we are attempting to put upon the Convention, but we are waiting for the hour when the clock shall strike, and the Convention shall name its man; and that man, we believe, will be elected if wisdom and harmony, and courtesy prevail here—and not otherwise. Now, sir, at this stage of the Convention, when it seems to me we cannot expedite any further business here this evening, and understanding from my colleague on the Committee on Credentials that that Committee cannot report before to-morrow morning, I move to lay the present resolution on the table, in order that the Convention may adjourn. Let us dispose of this question and come in to-morrow prepared to settle of whom the Convention consists, and then to nominate the candidate on whom we may write the words victory in November.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Brandagee] moves to lay the resolution on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

## ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. METCALF, of Illinois. I now move that this Convention adjourn until ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was agreed to.

So the Convention, at seven o'clock and thirty minutes p. m., adjourned to to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

## THIRD DAY—FRIDAY, June 4, 1880—10 A. M.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Convention met.

The PRESIDENT. Prayer will be offered by Rev. Mr. Little, of Chicago.

Rev. Mr. Little offered the following

## PRAYER: •

*Let us unite in prayer.* Almighty God and Everlasting Father, we recognize Thee as the author of all life, of all light, of all power. Accept, we entreat Thee, the hearty confession of all our sins, the hearty acknowledgement of Thy mercies. Vouchsafe unto this Convention, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, this day in all its deliberations, the spirit of wisdom, of discretion of a sound mind, of equity, of an enlarged patriotism, and guide its members in all their deliberations to such an issue as shall be honorable to them and acceptable to the people who have charged them with this high service, and whose servants they are. We ask this and all other blessings in the name of Christ, our Lord and Redeemer. Amen.

## PLEDGING SUPPORT TO THE NOMINEE.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. I have in my hand a resolution which I will offer, in the hope that there will be no objection to it. I shall not ask that the roll be called, if, as I hope, it shall be unanimously agreed to. Should there be a division, I will beg to ask that the roll be called. I offer the following resolution:

*Resolved,* As the sense of this Convention, that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be; and that no man should hold a seat here who is not ready to so agree.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. President.* I take it that a Republican Convention does not need to be instructed that its first and underlying duty, after nominating its candidate, is to elect him over a Democratic candidate. We have come here with our preferences, and are earnest and ardent in the expression and urgency of those preferences; but I have yet failed to hear, in the busy and exciting conflict in which men have been engaged for the last week, any expression on the part of any delegate to this Convention, for whomsoever he may be, of a dissent as to the final determination of this Convention. When we have had deliverance from all the labor of this Convention, I have no doubt, and I shall in that agree with the

distinguished gentleman from New York, that we will be found hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, marching on to the election of our candidate. If he nominates his candidate, Mr. President, we will pledge ourselves to refrain from nothing, by night or by day, to elect him. And, in turn, we shall expect that if we nominate ours, he will work night and day to elect him.

Mr. BRANDAGEE, of Connecticut. I do not rise, Mr. President, to advocate the resolution. I do not think such a resolution needs advocacy in a Republican convention. It ought to pass without opposition, sir, and no man can be in a Republican convention that is not prepared to vote for it, and to stand by it. Mr. President, all I rise for is to ask that this question shall be taken by a call of States, that we may emphasize the verdict, and know who votes for it and who will try to escape from it, if any such there be. I call for the roll of States on the vote.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will first put the question. If the decision of the Chair is doubted, the call of States will then be ordered. The Chair will not hold himself bound to put questions on a call of States at the request of any individual member of the Convention unless there be some doubt as to the sense of the Convention. [After putting the question,] the ayes have it.

Mr. BRANDAGEE. I doubt it, and move that the roll of States be called.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. Plainly and audibly to me and to others, negative votes were given on this resolution, and I respectfully ask the Chair to call the States, that we may know who it is in a Republican convention that votes "No" on such a pledge.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will take the sense of the Convention. Is it the pleasure of the Convention that this question be taken by a call of States?

The motion for a call of the roll was agreed to.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted: Yeas, 716; nays, 3, as follows:

<i>States.</i>	<i>No. Del.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>No. Del.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Alabama.....	20	20	...	Mississippi.....	16	16	...
Arkansas.....	12	12	...	Missouri.....	30	30	...
California.....	12	12	...	Nebraska.....	6	6	...
Colorado.....	6	6	...	Nevada.....	6	6	...
Connecticut.....	12	12	...	New Hampshire.....	10	10	...
Delaware.....	6	6	...	New Jersey.....	18	18	...
Florida.....	8	8	...	New York.....	70	70	...
Georgia.....	22	22	...	North Carolina.....	20	20	...
Illinois.....	42	42	...	Ohio.....	44	44	...
Indiana.....	30	30	...	Oregon.....	6	6	...
Iowa.....	22	22	...	Pennsylvania.....	58	58	...
Kansas.....	10	10	...	Rhode Island.....	8	8	...
Kentucky.....	24	24	...	South Carolina.....	14	1	...
Louisiana.....	16	...	...	Tennessee.....	24	24	...
Maine.....	14	14	...	Texas.....	16	16	...
Maryland.....	16	16	...	Vermont.....	10	10	...
Massachusetts.....	26	26	...	Virginia.....	22	22	...
Michigan.....	22	22	...	West Virginia.....	10	5	3
Minnesota.....	10	10	...	Wisconsin.....	20	20	...

<i>States.</i>	<i>No.</i> <i>Del.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>No.</i> <i>Del.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Arizona.....	2	2	...	Utah.....	2	2	...
Dakota.....	2	2	...	Washington.....	2	...	...
District of Columbia...	2	...	...	Wyoming.....	2	2	...
Idaho.....	2	...	...				
Montana.....	2	...	...	Total .....	766	716	3
New Mexico.....	2	2	...				

So the resolution was adopted.

During the vote :

On the call of the State of South Carolina.

Mr. ELLIOTT, of South Carolina. *Mr. President.* Being the only member of the delegation present from South Carolina, and not being authorized to cast the vote of the other members of the delegation, I desire to be allowed to record my vote on the affirmative side of the question.

On the call of the State of West Virginia.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. *Mr. President.* There are two members of the delegation from West Virginia serving on committees. Those present vote five "aye" and three "no."

On the call of the Territory of Dakota.

A VOICE. The members forming the delegation from Dakota are absent, but their alternates are here and cast two votes aye.

[The delegates from the Territories of Idaho, Montana and Washington and from the District of Columbia were absent, and their votes were not recorded.]

The Vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. *Mr. President:* I wish to offer a resolution, which in one moment I will reduce to writing, the substance of which meanwhile I will submit orally to the Convention.

*Resolved,* That the delegates who on this roll-call have voted "no" on the resolution just adopted do not deserve to have, and have forfeited their votes in this Convention.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. I hope that for the benefit of those who voted in the negative the gentleman will repeat his remarks.

Mr. Conkling having sent to the Chair his resolution in writing, it was read, as follows :

*Resolved,* That the delegates who have voted that they will not abide the action of the Convention, do not deserve, and have forfeited, their votes in this Convention.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. *Mr. President:* Before the resolution is put to this Convention, I desire to make a few remarks. There are three gentlemen from West Virginia, good and true Republicans, who have voted in the negative. I came to the City of Chicago, when a young man, from the State of Virginia, after

having submitted for twenty years to contumely and to violence in that State for my Republican principles,—and if it has come to this, that in this City of Chicago, a delegate from that State to a Republican Convention cannot have a free expression of his opinion, I for one am willing to withdraw from this Convention. Mr. President, I have been a Republican in the State of Virginia from my youth. For twenty-three years I have published a Republican newspaper in that State. I have supported every Presidential Republican nominee in that time. I expect to support the nominee of this Convention. But, sir, as a Republican, I imbibed my principles from the great statesman from New York, William H. Seward, with whom I had an early acquaintance by virtue of my having gone to school with him near the City of Utica, from which the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] now hails. I was a Republican then, and I made the acquaintance of that distinguished gentleman. I came home, and in my youth I became a newspaper editor. From that day to this—from the John Brown raid on Harper's Ferry all through the troubles of the last twenty-five years—I have consistently and always supported our State and National Republican nominees. But, Mr. President, I feel, as a Republican, that there is a principle in this question, and I will never come into any Convention and agree beforehand that whatever may be done by that Convention shall have my endorsement. Sir, as a free man, whom God made free, I always intend to carry my sovereignty under my own hat. [Applause.] I never intend that any body of men shall take it from me. I do not, Mr. President, make my living by politics; I make it by my labor as a newspaper editor; and I am not afraid to go home and say that I stood up here in this Convention and expressed my honest opinion, as I was not afraid to stand up in the State of West Virginia, when but 2,500 men were found to vote for Abraham Lincoln, though, I am glad to say, that that party has risen to-day to 45,000 votes under the training that we received, and from the early inspiration of Republican principles. I am not afraid, sir, to go home and face those men as I have faced them always.

Mr. MOORE, of West Virginia. Although I differ with my brother from West Virginia [Mr. Campbell]—yet I do insist and demand upon his part, as one of the delegates from that State, the right to utter his sentiments as a representative of West Virginia, on every question. He is responsible to his people, and to his people alone. In the name of God, has it come to this, that one who has battled as A. W. Campbell has to my knowledge, in behalf of Republicanism, when it cost something more than it did in the State of New York or in the State of Maine, cannot freely express his opinion in a Republican Convention?

When the dark clouds of 1861 to '65 swept over what is now the little State of West Virginia, when it was the great battle ground, as it were, of the Northern and Southern armies, A. W. Campbell was standing holding aloft the flag of his country on the battlefield and fighting for its principles. While I differ from him, and have resolved to vote for the nominee, whomever he may be, yet I do insist on behalf of my friend that he has a right to express his sentiments here.

Mr. BRANDAGEE. *Mr. President:* Before this Convention passes this resolution it would be quite well for these gentlemen to see and decide for themselves what the question is and what the question is not. In the first place, Mr. President, it is not a question of free speech in a Republican Convention. That question was decided in



the first Republican Convention that ever sat on this continent, and it never has been doubted or questioned in any National Republican Convention that has met since that date. The war cry of this party was "Free Speech, Free Press, Free Soil, Freedom, and Fremont!" It lies at the foundation of the great temple of Republican liberty, which is the glory of this land, and the admiration of the world,—Free Speech—freedom to express at all proper times and places one's preferences upon political questions; and at the foundations of that other enduring monument, laid deeper than any Convention's work, the Equality of Manhood in Courts, in streets, in Conventions, and in all places. Now, sir, let the gentlemen from West Virginia clearly understand that it is no question of freedom of speech here. Their own course has demonstrated that. They are at perfect liberty to talk both to the Convention and the galleries. No man has denied, doubted, or hindered them in the exercise of their right of speech, and no man will, until this debate is ended. Nor is it, sir, that other question of individual liberty which every American citizen and voter must answer for himself, to his God, and his conscience, when he comes to the polls, the question for whom he individually shall vote. That question each man will take to his conscience and his God, and settle it before them, under the Constitution and the laws of his country. He will vote as his conscience dictates, without fear, favor or reward. The question is whether he shall sit here in a Republican Convention in true loyalty to this glorious party, that has carried this country through the storm of battle, and which advocates Republican liberty for this continent, and Republican liberty for all nations.

As a delegate to the Convention of Republicans, with equal rights and equal privileges, is it decent, is it to be tolerated, will it conduce to order, will it conduce to wholesome party integrity in the coming campaign, to let one State here in advance say unto us, "The mountain must come to Mahomet; Mahomet won't go to the mountain," and to dictate in advance terms here to put shackles upon the action of the delegation of any State in the Convention? I say, that any State, or any portion of any delegation from any State, that deliberately announces that doctrine in advance is not fit for a seat on this floor. I would not exclude them. I would modify that resolution, and suggest to the great orator from New York, [Mr. Conkling,] the great representative Republican of the country, to modify his resolution so as not to exclude them from the hall. Let them stay here and see how unanimous we can be. But I would instruct the Clerk of this Convention and its President, upon the roll-call, not to call their names so that they may not participate in the results of a Convention to which results they in advance pledge themselves not to conform.

Mr. McCORMICK, of West Virginia. *Mr. President.* I was one of the three men that voted against that resolution. I did not vote against it, sir, because I did not intend to support the nominee of this Convention, because I *do*, as I have done ever since I was old enough to cast a vote. I have to say to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] that I have been as consistent a Republican as he has been. I have further to say to the gentleman from New York that when the war broke out in 1861 I was but a boy of eighteen years of age, and I went into the army from the State of Indiana, and into Camp Morton, and was in the army for two long years. I made, sir—if the gentlemen of this Convention will allow me to say—in 1876 more than one hundred speeches for the nominee of the Republican

party, and I am informed that the gentleman from New York made but one. I would like to see the gentleman practice what he preaches. It is a notorious fact that the gentleman from New York on many occasions in the past, when he has failed to secure what he wanted from the Republican party, has not given it the hearty support that I have. I object to that resolution for this: That resolution recites that a man who dares assert his independence in this Convention is not worthy of a seat in the body. I say he is, and I object to it for that reason, and not because I do not intend to support the nominee of this Convention. I do, and it makes no difference who he is.

Mr. YOUNG, of Tennessee. I understand something of politics in Tennessee. I hate turmoil or anything of the kind among my peers, but I do feel bound to say something here, because matters are shaping themselves, or are being brought about, which are sooner or later to tell the destiny of the Republican party in the South. Now, this is no small question, but it is a question in which we Southern people are much interested. The point is this with me and with the Southern Republicans: The intent of the South is not a true purpose—that is, in the Democratic party. Take you Republicans of the North, and of the East, and of the West, and when you come down through the South it will sugar-coat you until you believe the South is an angel, robed in the most spotless robes with which angels have ever been clothed, and we Republicans get the worst of it when you leave that section of the country. We do not want to be mistaken. We want you in this Convention to look into these little things, that tell which way the wind blows, when we go home. I do not doubt the Republicanism of these gentlemen; but, sir, if a man in the South has not the pluck to stand firm on the smallest question in Republicanism, he is unworthy to stand among his Southern fellows. I have not yet understood why these gentlemen refuse to support the nominee of the Republican party. I want to know this: If they intend to join any other party in case they are not satisfied here, then what right have they to join us? If they intend to unite with the Democratic party, what right have they to be with us here? If they intend to be silent, why would they say that they would not support him? That would leave them without a vote. I would rather sneak out after declaring that I would not vote with the party than claim a seat in a Republican Convention. I understand what liberty means, but I do not understand that liberty extends so far as to allow men to throw a division into a party which has to act as a unit. Now, I take this position: That unless the Republican party in the North, in the East, and in the West determines to stand to the shoulder and at the back of the Republican party in the South, the South will count Democratic every time, and you can not help it. But the day that the North stands by the Republican party in the South, as she has stood to the party all over this country, then the Electoral College will have Republican votes from the Southern States, and they will be counted. All we ask is men with backbone, and not men who go to the gate and help others in, and themselves slip out. We need the assurance that in our attempt to support the party we will be supported. That is all the Southern Republicans ask. Now, I do not by any means intend to say that the Southern white Republicans are not true. We have them down there—we have them in the Tennessee delegation—as good as any colored man. [Laughter.] I can not say they are any better, but we claim that we have got good colored Republicans down there. But we are tired

of men who claim to be Republicans just enough to put us in a position in the South to be defeated; and because they do not agree with the great Republican Convention go back and sow dissension all over the country. I am opposed to it. Let these men define themselves, and let us see what is the matter, and, if it is simply because of their high independence, I say let them vacate their seats, and let the Republican party go on.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. I desire to say one word in answer to all that has been said upon this subject, and in answer to the delegate from Tennessee, [Mr. Young,] I would say that I am not afraid to speak of Republicanism, and never have been. When Frederick Douglass came to my city immediately after the war to make a speech, there was not a prominent man in that city, so far as I have been informed, that was willing to introduce him to an audience. He sent for me, or some of his friends did, and I said I would introduce him; and I did introduce him. And, Mr. President, I helped to make such men as the delegate from Tennessee free, and I think it is a very poor return for one of his race to stand up here and talk about Southern white Republicans not having sufficient grit to face their opponents. I claim to have all the grit that any man can have who wears a conscience in his breast. I have always held to my principles under every sort of persecution, and I expect to do so now.

Mr. BRANDAGEE. I rise to question of order. I would like through the medium of a question of order, to ask my friend from West Virginia whether he now—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Connecticut is out of order. He is not stating a question of order.

Mr. BRANDAGEE. I know I am not; but I am asking a question.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order. The gentleman from West Virginia has the floor.

A DELEGATE. Mr. Campbell is through.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. I fear this Convention is about to commit a great error, and before they act I beg leave to state the case. Every delegate in this Convention, save three, voted for a resolution. Those three gentlemen who voted against it have arisen in their places and each man has said that he expects and intends to support the nominee of this Convention. But they say it is not, according to their judgment, a wise thing at this time to pass the resolution for which all the rest of us voted. Are they to be disfranchised because they thought it was not the time to pass the resolution for which we voted? That is the question, and that is the whole question. If these gentlemen had arisen in their places and said, "I will not vote for your nominee," then the question would be a pertinent and entirely different one. Is every delegate here to have his Republicanism inquired into before this Convention will allow him to vote? We come here as Republicans, and we are entitled to take part in the proceeding of this Convention, and as one of our rights, we can vote on every resolution "aye" or "no." We are responsible for those votes to our constituents, and to them alone. There never was a Convention, there never can be a Convention, of which I am one delegate, equal in rights to every other delegate, that shall bind my vote against my will on any question whatever.

I regret that these gentlemen thought it best to break the harmony of this Convention by their dissent; but, when they tell the Convention that by their dissent they did not mean, that they would

not vote for the nominee of this Convention, but only that they did not think the resolution at this time wise. I say they acted in their right; and not by my vote shall they be deprived of their seats or their freedom. I do not know the gentlemen, nor their affiliations, nor their relations to candidates, except one of them. One of them I know, who in the dark days of slavery, and for twenty long years, in the midst of slave-pens and slave-drivers, has stood up for liberty with a clear-sighted courage and a brave heart equal to that of the best Republican that lives on this globe. And if this Convention expel him, then we must purge ourselves at the end of every vote by requiring that so many as shall vote against us shall go out.

I trust, after the statements that have been made by the three delegates from West Virginia, that the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] will take pleasure in withdrawing the resolution and let the Convention proceed with its business.

MR. PIXLEY, of California. I have the honor very respectfully to move that the resolution be laid upon the table.

MR. CONKLING. *Mr. President:* I beg to ask that the roll be called, that being a test question.

THE PRESIDENT. It is requested that the roll be called. The Chair in his discretion will direct the roll to be called.

A DELEGATE. I want to say just a word.

THE PRESIDENT. The motion is not debatable.

MR. CARTER, of Mississippi. I desire to ask the gentleman, [Mr. Pixley,] if he will withdraw the motion to lay on the table for a moment, that I may make a statement.

MR. PIXLEY. No, I want it voted upon.

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman declines to withdraw this motion. The roll will now be called. All those in favor of laying the resolution on the table will be reported by the chairmen of their respective delegations as voting "aye," and others as voting "no." The Secretary will call the roll.

MR. CONKLING. *Mr. President:*—

THE PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman from New York rise?

MR. CONKLING. To make an inquiry of the Chair which, although this motion is not debatable, is in order. I beg to inquire of the Chair, there being no difference of understanding around me, whether the delegates referred to in that resolution did state that they would support the nominee of the Convention. The Chair, no doubt, heard what the gentleman said.

THE PRESIDENT. The Chair does not deem it within his province to undertake to put meaning upon the speeches or addresses which have been made to the Convention. The Secretary will proceed with the roll-call.

MR. CONKLING. One word further. If I had or could have an affirmative answer to the question I put to the Chair, it would give me great pleasure to withdraw this resolution. I think in some way the Chair might enable us to know whether those are right who did not understand these delegates to say that they would support our nominee, or the gentleman from Ohio is right.

THE PRESIDENT. The Chair can not undertake to answer the question. The gentleman from New York will see, upon—

MR. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. I do not propose to make any explanation to the gentleman who has raised a question here for his own purposes.

The PRESIDENT. The call of the roll will be proceeded with. The question is not debatable.

Mr. CONKLING. If I am in order, and I believe I am, owing to the purpose for which I rise, I will not insist upon any resolution against even a doubt as to the position of the three members from West Virginia, and although I did not understand the declaration as another member did, rather than run the risk of an injustice to any delegate, I will withdraw the resolution.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. In the language of the gentleman from New York, I congratulate him upon his success.

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. I move that the Committee on Credentials be instructed now to report.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair wishes to be heard in making a statement to the Convention and the galleries. The National Convention has supposed it would give great pleasure to persons not members of the Convention, assembled here, to witness its proceedings; and accordingly arrangements have been made by which ten thousand citizens are present as lookers on. But it is quite obvious that it is an abuse of the courtesy of the Convention for gentlemen in the galleries to undertake to express their disapprobation of the sentiments which are uttered by the speakers here. The Chair will deem it his duty to cause any portion of the gallery to be cleared from which such interruptions shall again come. The American people are gentlemen; and the gentlemen who sit in the galleries will oblige the Chair if they will co-operate with him in the difficult duty of enforcing this order.

Is the representative of the Committee on Credentials ready to report, in obedience to the order of the Convention?

A DELEGATE. He is not in the hall.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is informed that the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials is not in the hall.

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. In order that the time of the Convention may not be wasted, pending the report of the Committee on Credentials, I move that the Chairman of the Committee on Rules be instructed to report, but that no action be taken on the rules until after the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. CONKLING. And *action* upon it.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman accept the modification that no action be taken on the report until after the disposition of the report of the Committee on Credentials? Is there any objection to that suggestion? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered. The Chair will request the chairmen of committees to take the platform in making their report. The Chair requests the Hon. Blanche K. Bruce, of Mississippi, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Convention, to assume the chair for a few minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER, [Mr. Bruce, of Mississippi, in the chair.] The Chairman of the Committee on Rules will now report to the Convention.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. *Mr. President.* I am instructed by the Committee on Rules and Order of Business to report to this Convention the rules and order of business for its government. I will request the Secretary to read the report of the committee.

The Secretary read as follows :

The Committee on Rules and Order of Business beg leave to make the following report :

Rule 1. The Convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each State equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, and two delegates from each Territory, and two from the District of Columbia.

Rule 2. The rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of the Convention so far as they are applicable, and not inconsistent with the following rules.

Rule 3. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegates from any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the Convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule 4. Upon all subjects before the Convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories and District of Columbia.

Rule 5. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Resolutions is acted upon; and the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 6. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories and the District of Columbia, the Secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories and the District of Columbia in the order heretofore stated.

Rule 7. In making the nomination for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate has received a majority of the votes cast, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be: Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous? But if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the Chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast; and when any State has announced its vote it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error.

Rule 8. In the record of the vote by States, the vote of each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman; and in case the vote of any State, Territory or District of Columbia shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition; but, if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the chairman of his delegation, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given.

Rule 9. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the Convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate

shall be allowed ten minutes in presenting the name of such candidate.

Rule 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee.

Rule 11. All resolutions relating to the platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

Respectfully submitted.

J. A. GARFIELD, *Chairman*.

THOMAS W. CHASE, *Secretary*.

Mr. GARFIELD. *Mr. Chairman*. I do not understand that these rules are now up for discussion; but the Convention has directed that the report be made for the information of the delegates. As a part of that information, I make this statement: The Committee on Rules have made but two classes of changes in the rules of 1876: First, merely verbal changes and re-arrangement of rules in what they thought was a more convenient order; and in that I understand the report of the committee to be absolutely unanimous.

The only change of substance of any rule is the language in the last clause of Rule 8 in regard to the vote where a State may be divided. In that case, the Committee on Rules thought it best to embody the precedents of rulings in all former Republican conventions, as they believe, into a plain, unambiguous addition to the rules. Beyond that, no change has been made. This is all I say as to the report. When it comes up for consideration, I may have something to say. I understand that a minority of the committee desire to offer a minority report; and, as the Chairman of the whole Committee, I have said to them that they ought to be heard, and I have no doubt they will be; and I ask that the gentlemen in the minority may send up their report, to be read for the information of the Convention.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. I send up the minority report.

The PRESIDENT. The report of the minority of the Committee will be read by the Secretary.

The Secretary read as follows:

#### REPORT OF THE MINORITY OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES.

The minority from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, consisting of the delegates from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, New York, Tennessee, Virginia, Illinois and Colorado, respectfully recommend the retention of Rule No. 8, being Rule No. 6 of the Convention of 1876, in the same language held by this rule in former Republican Conventions, under which the rights of all delegates have been heretofore protected, and which is as follows:

"In the record of votes by States, the vote of each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman; and in case the votes of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate or for or against any proposition."

Your Committee believe that the addition made by a majority of the Committee, after a protracted debate, is unwise; that it tends to invite discussion which may not otherwise be forced upon the Convention; that it is unnecessary, to protect the rights of individual members; and that it gratuitously and in advance casts an imputation upon the chairmen of the respective delegations.

J. H. THOMASSON, Alabama.  
J. H. JOHNSON, Arkansas.  
JAMES DEAN, Florida.  
W. GODFREY HUNTER, Kentucky.  
H. C. CARTER, Mississippi.  
THOMAS B. RODGERS, Missouri.  
GEORGE H. SHARPE, New York.  
J. M. CORDELL, Tennessee.  
W. R. WATKINS, Virginia.  
A. W. METCALF, Illinois.  
M. M. MEGRUE, Colorado.

The PRESIDENT. Under the order of the Convention, no action is to be taken on these propositions until after the report of the Committee on Credentials is made and disposed of. The Chair will request the gentleman from New Jersey, who made the motion that the Committee on Credentials be instructed to report, to charge himself with the order of the Convention in that respect, and with informing the Convention of the purpose of the Committee, if he will be so kind.

#### CREDENTIALS.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. [After a short discussion.] *Mr. President:* I have the honor to submit the report of the Committee on Credentials for the consideration of the Convention. In behalf of the Committee I apologize to the Convention for the length of time we have detained the Convention from receiving and acting upon this report. There were more than fifty cases of delegates and alternates upon which your Committee had to act, hear testimony and discussion, and consider. There were over fifty other points submitted to your Committee which required its consideration and action. I desire to say, in behalf of the Committee on Credentials, without detaining the Convention longer, that, with a recess of but two or three hours since eleven o'clock, day before yesterday, when this Committee withdrew to consider these cases, the Committee have been continuously and laboriously engaged in the performance of their duty. I desire to say further that all questions submitted to the Committee have been considered with candor, with fairness, without dispute between the members of the Committee as to their settlement, however much members of the Committee may have differed in regard to the merits. Without delaying the Convention, Mr. President, I now present the report of the Committee, and, when it is read, I shall have the honor to request the vote of the Convention upon the different propositions embraced in the report, as I shall present them to the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The report will be read by the Secretary.

Mr. CONGER. I ask that the Secretary of the Committee [Mr. Fessenden] may read the report. We did not remain long enough to have it printed to present to the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will recognize Mr. Fessenden, the Secretary of the Committee, for that purpose.



Mr. Fessenden read as follows :

**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.**

The Committee on Credentials respectfully report the annexed roll of delegates, recommended by them as entitled to seats in the Convention.

The changes which have been made in the printed roll prepared by the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, and also the disposition of contests which are recommended by the Committee, are as follows :

*First*—In the case of the State of Louisiana, the Committee recommend the admission of the delegation, with their alternates, headed by Henry C. Warmoth, and the exclusion of the delegation, with their alternates, headed by Taylor Beattie. The Committee find that this contest arose out of two rival State conventions. The call for a convention to be held in New Orleans on the 24th of May was regularly issued. Previous to the convention, a struggle about delegates being imminent, the partisans of the various candidates came to an agreement to divide the delegates, and have a peaceable convention. But when the convention assembled a conflict arose. Mr. Dumont, the Chairman of the State Committee, called the convention to order, but Mr. Beattie denied his right, and moved that a Mr. Demas be elected, and himself declared him elected. A disturbance arose; Mr. Demas was not allowed to take the Chair, but Mr. Dumont was himself elected Temporary Chairman, and shortly Mr. Beattie, Mr. Demas and others left the hall and went into another room, and held a separate convention. There is a conflict as to the number of delegates who withdrew, and as to the number who remained in the hall of the regular convention, but the Committee find that those who went out were in a minority; that the withdrawal was without adequate cause, and that the delegation headed by Ex-Governor Warmoth is regular, and entitled to seats.

*Second*—The Committee recommend in the Fourth Congressional District, of Alabama, James T. Rapier for admission as delegate for said district. The facts found by the Committee in this case are, that a State delegate convention of the Republicans of Alabama was held at Selma, May 21st, 1880, to elect delegates to this Convention, which subdivided itself into district conventions, and the Fourth Congressional district elected James T. Rapier as one of the delegates for the district, which was ratified by the convention, subject to this condition: A resolution having passed the State convention directing the vote of the State to be cast as a unit for Gen. Grant, a resolution was also passed requiring each delegate to pledge himself to obey these instructions. Mr. Rapier not being found at the time of the convention, the President of the convention was directed to withhold from him his credentials unless he would, within twenty-four hours, give the pledge, as appears by the following notice sent to Mr. Rapier, to which letter he has made no response :

MONTGOMERY, ALA., May 24, 1880.

Dear Sir—The undersigned, as President of the late Republican State Convention, was directed by a resolution passed on the evening of the last day of the convention, and after efforts had been made by the convention to secure your personal presence, to obtain from you in writing a declaration that it was your purpose to abide by and obey the resolution of instruction passed by the convention, whereby

all the delegates from Alabama to the National Convention were directed to unite in casting the whole vote of the State for Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, so long as a majority of the delegation should deem that there was reasonable probability of his nomination. Your election being subject, as a condition precedent, to your acceptance of this pledge, in the event of refusal or failure on your part to make such declaration within twenty-four hours, the President was directed to withhold from you all credentials as a delegate from Alabama.

I have the honor to request that you will now inform me in writing whether or not it is your purpose to abide by and obey said resolution of instruction.

Very respectfully,

GEORGE TURNER,

*Late President Republican State Convention.*

HON. JAMES T. RAPIER, Montgomery, Alabama.

I certify that I handed the original, of which the above is a duplicate, to Hon. James T. Rapier personally, and left the same with him in Montgomery, Alabama, at 1:25 o'clock, p. m., on Monday, May 24th, 1880.

HARVEY A. WILSON.

May 24th, 1880.

*Third*—The Committee in the case of the Seventh Congressional district of Alabama recommend that William H. Smith and Willard Warner be admitted in the place of Arthur Bingham and R. A. Moseley.

The facts in the case of Messrs. Smith and Warner are substantially the same as those in the case of James T. Rapier. Messrs. Smith and Warner were duly elected by the district conventions, and their names reported to the State convention.

Gen. Warner, when called on by the chairman of the State convention to rise and pledge himself to support Gen. Grant, refused to do so, and also stated that he was authorized to refuse for Gov. Smith. Whereupon the State convention undertook to revoke their election, and to elect Bingham and Moseley in their places.

It was claimed before the Committee that Smith and Warner were not actually elected by the district convention. But it appeared to the Committee that the Seventh district was entitled to eighteen delegates; that there were present at the district convention fifteen delegates in person and two by proxy, not counting R. S. Heflin, from Randolph county, whose vote, Gov. Smith testified, he was authorized to cast, and not counting one vote cast by Ewing, of Etowah, that county being entitled to only one vote. The whole number of votes cast was seventeen. Counting Heflin's vote, cast by Smith, and one vote illegally cast by Ewing, Smith received nine votes, Ewing received six, Warner received eight votes (not counting Heflin's vote, cast by Smith) and Moseley seven votes.

*Fourth*—Illinois. The Committee recommend the admission of the following delegates and alternates within the State of Illinois in the place of sitting members:

First Congressional District—William J. Campbell, Elbridge G. Keith. Alternates, Arthur Dixon, Louis Hutt.

Third Congressional District—Washington Hesing, Elliott Anthony. Alternates, George Strukmann, John A. Maison.

Fourth Congressional District—C. W. Marsh, Lot B. Smith. Alternates, D. M. Marsh, A. C. Fassett.

Fifth Congressional District—Robert E. Logan, W. H. Holcombe. Alternates, J. H. Mosier, J. S. Kosier.

Sixth Congressional District—James K. Edsall. John P. Hand. Alternates, S. J. Hume, William Jackson.

Ninth Congressional District—John A. Gray, W. Selden Gale. Alternates, C. Ballance, John Lackey.

Tenth Congressional District—Hen. Tubbs John Fletcher. Alternates, William Venable, J. P. Graham.

Thirteenth Congressional District—F. Low, E. D. Blenn. Alternates, R. D. Smith, W. E. Gapen.

Seventeenth Congressional District—William E. Kueffner, E. Guelich, Alternates, H. M. Kimball, C. W. Thomas.

The Committee find that a State convention was held at Springfield, Illinois, on the 10th day of May, to elect delegates to the National Convention. During the convention the delegates from each of the foregoing Congressional districts assembled and organized district conventions, and elected two delegates and two alternates to the Chicago Convention, by a clear majority of all the delegates elected to the State convention, in each of said districts, as is shown by the credentials accompanying this report. The State convention, by means of a committee of one from each Congressional district, selected, and afterwards assumed to elect, forty-two delegates to the National Convention, including the sitting members from the foregoing districts, the delegates from each of which filed in the State convention protests against said elections by the State convention.

*Fifth*—The Committee report against the validity of the contest in the Second district of Illinois, of the seats of sitting members, A. M. Wright and R. S. Tuthill.

*Sixth*—The Committee report against the objections to the seats of the four delegates-at-large from Illinois.

*Seventh*—Kansas. The Committee recommend the admission as delegates from the Second district, of Kansas, of T. C. Sears and S. A. Day and from the Third district, Thomas J. Anderson and John M. Steele, and that the ten present sitting members be allowed to retain their seats, and to cast six votes.

A State convention was held at Topeka, March 31st, 1880, and all the sitting members elected by one resolution. During the convention district conventions were notified by the chairman, and in the Second and Third districts the contestants were elected in such districts at the time and places mentioned and certified, and the Committee find that they were the choice of a majority of the delegates in these districts.

*Eighth*—Pennsylvania. In the Ninth Congressional district, of Pennsylvania, the Committee report against the validity of the contest made by A. Kline and E. K. Martin.

*Ninth*—The committee report against the contestants, D. H. McKinney and H. S. McNair, in the Nineteenth Congressional district of Pennsylvania.

*Tenth*—West Virginia. In the Third Congressional district, the committee recommend that the sitting members, Z. D. Ramsdell and S. A. Martin, be allowed to retain their seats. These delegates were contested by J. W. Davis and John H. Rossler, on the ground that they were duly elected by the district sub-convention, but there is a controversy whether they actually received the votes of a majority of the delegates to the State convention from the Congressional district, and the Committee find that fact is not proven.

Many of the foregoing recommendations depend upon the adoption in the National Convention of the principle of Congressional district representation. In each case of a favorable recommendation, the Committee have ascertained that those delegates who are recommended were actually chosen by a proper convention, representing the Congressional district for which they are accredited. In justification of the principle of Congressional district representation, the Committee might well rest upon the call for this Convention, which is as follows:

"A National Convention of the Republican party will meet at Chicago on Wednesday, the 2d day of June next, at 12 o'clock, noon, for the nomination of candidates to be supported for President and Vice-President at the next election. Republicans, and all who will co-operate with them in supporting the nominees of the party, are invited to choose two delegates from each Congressional district, four at large from each State, two from each Territory, and two from the District of Columbia, to represent them in the Convention.

"J. D. CAMERON, *Chairman*.

"THOMAS B. KEOGH, *Secretary*."

An examination of the calls of Conventions prior to 1880 confirms the correctness of the call for this Convention. The call for 1856 invited "from each State three delegates from every Congressional district and six delegates-at-large." The call for the Convention of 1860 invited the sending "from each State two delegates from every Congressional district, and four delegates-at-large." The call for 1864 merely declared each State to be "entitled to as many delegates as shall be equal to twice the number of Electors to which such State is entitled in the Electoral College of the United States." The calls for 1868, 1872, and 1876 adopted substantially the language of the call for 1864. It will thus be seen that the call for 1880, in inviting "two delegates from each Congressional district, four delegates-at-large from each State," purposely passes to and expressly adopts the language of the earlier calls of 1856 and 1860.

This form of call for this Convention was not, it may fairly be presumed, adopted without a purpose. It was expressly intended to remove any doubt which might possibly be raised and to make positive and indisputable district representation, which had its origin with the birth of the Republican party, as shown by the calls for the Conventions of 1856 and 1860.

If the question of district representation is to be decided, therefore, by a consideration of the call for this Convention, it must be settled in favor of the right of such representation.

The justice and equity of recognizing, securing and protecting Congressional district representation is also demonstrated by the actual precedents of the Republican party since its organization in 1856, which may be summarized as follows: First—In all the official records of the proceedings of the Conventions from 1860 to 1876, the lists of delegates include, (with insignificant exceptions) first, delegates-at-large, and next the delegates residing within and selected from each Congressional district. Second—In no single case prior to 1880, which has been shown to the Committee, has the selection of delegates fairly made within and for any Congressional district by the Republican party within such district, been overruled or changed by a State convention, or by any other means or authority. Third—The last proposition is true, whether the delegates within any State have been chosen by separate district conventions held

within the districts, or at a single State convention, and where State conventions have been held it has been the almost universal practice to allow the delegates to such State conventions from each Congressional district to hold separate district conventions, and select the national delegates from each district.

This long current of precedents, and this universal custom of the past, most conclusively establishes the right of Congressional district representation. It is a question of substance, and not of form. Whether the delegates have come certified from separate district conventions, or whether they have come from a State convention, where the district members thereof have selected their district representatives, and formally reported them to the State convention, and their election has been certified, for brevity and convenience, only by the officers of the State convention, district representation, in fact, has always been allowed. The right of the Congressional district to two members residing within it and representing its sentiments, has been treated as sacred, and your Committee do not believe that it should be now for the first time invaded with the approval of a National Convention. Not only does the call for the convention, and the practice and precedents of the party, in one unbroken line, indicate and secure the right of single district representation, but every consideration of the reason of the practice tends to confirm its wisdom.

The purpose to be secured in nominating a President is the selection of a candidate the most likely to be accepted by the people, and the nearer we get to the popular feeling, in the manner of selecting delegates, the wiser and safer will be our nominations. If a State convention called to choose delegates to a National Convention can, by a bare majority, overrule the choices of the Congressional districts and select delegates residing within the districts who do not represent its sentiments, they might as well be allowed to select all the delegates from one Congressional district. Residence within a district, coupled with misrepresentation of its sentiments, is a mockery. The delegates thus selected by a State convention will not fairly represent the masses of the Republicans of the State, but frequently will misrepresent them. Nominations made by conventions of such delegates will not be so likely to be ratified at the polls; and, in the opinion of the Committee, it is the duty of the Convention emphatically to disapprove these attempts to over-ride time-honored customs of the party, and to vindicate the right of every Congressional district to be represented in a National Convention by two delegates of its own selection, and expressing its own sentiment.

*Eleventh - Utah.* The Committee recommended that the sitting delegates and their alternates from the Territory of Utah retain their seats.

The almost universal usage of the Territories has been that the Central Republican Committee appoint the delegates to the National Convention. This practice arises out of the difficulty and expense of obtaining a representation from the different localities in a convention for that purpose. This usage was followed in this case. The contesting delegates claim that they were selected at a subsequent meeting of delegates chosen by the Republicans of the Territory and held at Salt Lake City; but your Committee do not find this meeting to be of such a character as to authorize the seating of the contesting delegation.

O. D. CONGER, *Chairman.*

SAMUEL FESSENDEN, *Secretary.*

**MR. CONGER.** *Mr. President:* The minority of the Committee desire to present some views to the National Convention, and by order of the Committee, this occasion, before further action, was to be permitted for that presentation. Mr. Clayton, a member of the Committee will present the views of the minority.

#### MINORITY REPORT ON CREDENTIALS.

**MR. CLAYTON,** of Arkansas. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* Upon the part of the minority of the Committee on Credentials, and, by their instruction, I am directed to present their report, which I now respectfully do, and ask the Secretary to read.

The Secretary read as follows:

The minority of the Committee on Credentials, while concurring in so much of the report of the majority as reports the names of delegates and alternates whose seats are not contested, beg leave to state that we differ from the opinions of the majority in respect to their application of the principle of district representation in a National Convention.

The adoption of the views of the majority results practically in changing the traditions and practices of the Republican party in many States, where, from time immemorial, the State conventions have selected delegates to the National Conventions.

Whenever the Republicans, in National Convention assembled, shall lay down a system to govern future action in the selection of delegates, it is probable that the Republicans in every State will cheerfully conform to such rule, but we declare as our deliberate judgment that the majority propose for the adoption of this Convention an *ex post facto* rule which will operate with great injustice, and virtually asserts the power on the part of this National Convention of seating delegates chosen in violation of the long established usages of the Republican party of the States to be affected thereby. This action, we affirm, is calculated to subject this Convention to the criticism of deciding contests with a view of affecting the final result of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President.

With reference to the contest of the three seats from Alabama, we report that James T. Rapier, Willard Warner and William H. Smith are not delegates to this Convention from Alabama, and that a vacancy in the delegation exists as to the place claimed by Mr. Rapier, which it is proper should be filled by the duly elected and accredited alternate now in attendance with the delegation, and that the places claimed by Mr. Warner and Mr. Smith are properly and regularly filled by Arthur Bingham and Robert A. Moseley, Jr.

The facts with reference to those contests are briefly these:

*First,* As to Rapier. After the transaction of the preliminary business of the Republican State convention of Alabama, a recess of the convention was taken to allow the delegates for the several districts to retire, and, in the language of the resolution directing the same, to "report to the convention the names of persons selected to be recommended to the convention as delegates."

The Fourth district delegates selected Mr. Rapier and one other.

Before voting upon the names reported from the districts, a resolution was adopted by the convention that each person recommended by the districts come before the convention and declare their purpose to abide by the resolution of instructions theretofore passed by the convention.

When Mr. Rapier's name was called under this resolution, he could not be found; and, after considerable delay, the State convention, in order to settle the matter, passed a resolution declaring Mr. Rapier elected a delegate upon the condition that he afterward give to the President of the convention a pledge, in writing to abide by the resolution of instruction, and directing the President to withhold credentials from Mr. Rapier in case he refused to give the pledge.

Mr. Rapier *has* refused, and he now appears before this Convention without credentials from any political body or organization.

It is said that Mr. Rapier was elected by the district convention, and was not dependent upon the action of the State convention, which imposed this condition upon him; but the evidence before the Committee showed conclusively that the delegates who reported Mr. Rapier's name did not report him as elected, but simply as *nominated* to the convention for its acceptance or rejection.

The original report of the district caucus in writing, which was made to the State convention was produced in evidence, and showed that the district delegates had not pretended to do more than merely nominate the name of Mr. Rapier to the State convention. Mr. Rapier's right, then, to a seat in this Convention depends upon the action of the State convention, and that action must be accepted or rejected as a whole. If accepted as a whole, it unseats Mr. Rapier because of his refusal to abide by the condition attached to his selection. If rejected as a whole, because of any supposed incapacity of the State convention to attach a condition, there is no action of any organization beyond a mere nomination by the district delegates upon which he can predicate a claim to a seat.

Back of this and beyond it are questions which will apply as well to the contest made by Mr. Warner and Mr. Smith as to that made by Mr. Rapier.

All these gentlemen predicate their claim to seats on a supposed election by district conventions, but it was not shown that a single district convention had been called or held in the State of Alabama for this or any other purpose at any time during the present year.

On the contrary, it was shown, and not denied, that the only convention called in Alabama to select delegates to this Convention was the late State convention which elected and accredited the present sitting members of this Convention from Alabama; and the call, therefore, made in pursuance of a resolution of the Republican State Executive Committee, expressly stating that its purpose was the selection of delegates to the National Convention, how can it be said that delegates elected to a State convention, by simply resolving themselves into caucuses of delegates from the several Congressional districts, can thereby and of their own motion make themselves district conventions?

No mass meeting of Republicans in Alabama, and no delegate convention in any county in that state, selected delegates to go to a district convention to select delegates to *this* Convention, or gave instructions or authority to the delegates to the State convention to assemble and pretend to represent and act for districts.

The action of the districts, such as it was, was by permission and direction of the State convention, and could have no efficacy until submitted to and adopted by that convention.

If district conventions had been called and held by competent authority in the several districts of Alabama, and if delegates elected by said district conventions appeared to claim seats in this Convention, a different question would be presented for our consideration.

But, where the delegates to the State convention simply retired by districts, by direction of the convention, to recommend to it proper names to be selected as delegates, thus standing in the position of an advisory committee, it is a perversion of terms to say that the action of the convention in refusing, under such circumstances, to elect the persons recommended by the district delegates, presents in any shape a conflict between a State and district convention, as to the election of district delegates.

The minority consider that this is a matter entirely in the discretion of the Republicans of the several States. In some States the districts have become recognized by reason of long usage as to the proper unit of authority to select district delegates. In others, and we hazard nothing in saying in a large majority, the State conventions elect all the delegates, using precisely the machinery of recommendations and selections used in the late convention in Alabama, to-wit: Recommendations by the district delegates, and acceptance and ratification by the convention at large.

If this is now to be declared improper, it is safe to say that more than one-half of the delegates of this Convention are here without rightful authority, to say nothing of delegates from States, several in number, selected without any reference whatever to districts.

We appeal to the members of this Convention to pause and reflect before they make a decision, which, if followed out to its logical conclusion, will leave this Convention without a quorum of regularly accredited delegates. No such decision should be made, nor can it be made without stultifying ourselves before the world.

The point has been made that, even if the caucus of district delegates which selected Mr. Warner and Mr. Smith could be considered a district convention in any sense, with powers independent of the State convention, still those gentlemen are not entitled to seats in this Convention, because they did not receive a majority of the votes cast in that caucus.

The fact appears to be that Messrs. Warner and Smith, the contestants, received in that caucus an equal number of votes with Messrs. Bingham and Moseley, and that the contest was decided by the vote of an absent delegate who had not at any time been in attendance upon the State convention.

The person casting the vote of the absent delegate on that occasion appeared before this Committee, and admitted that his authority from the delegate was a verbal authority, while the absent delegate has written a letter, which was exhibited to this Committee, with its authenticity undisputed, in which the declaration is made that Mr. Smith, the delegate so casting his vote and benefitting by it, did so without authority, well knowing that he, the delegate, would not have voted for Smith and Warner if he had been present in the convention.

When you add to the foregoing the further fact that, after the rejection of the names of Warner and Smith, the majority of the delegates from the Seventh district retired and selected the names of the present sitting members, who were duly elected by the convention, it is difficult to see upon what ground the report of the majority can be sustained.

Its adoption would, in our judgment, constitute a partial disfranchisement of the Republicans of Alabama in this Convention.

With reference to the State of Illinois, the minority respectfully submit to this Convention, and through the Convention to the country, the following conclusions:



It was understood, when notice was given of this contest in the Convention, that the contest related merely to delegates in the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth and Seventeenth Congressional districts; but upon the assembling of the Committee, a memorial was presented to it, very general in its character, signed by the contesting delegates and their alternates, challenging the rightfulness of the entire delegation, and to this general memorial, in which this general challenge is embodied, we first address ourselves.

The leading feature of that memorial may be stated to be very vehement and sweeping denunciation of the State convention for the State of Illinois, held at Springfield on the 19th day of May; sweeping and vehement charges of unfairness on the part of its presiding officers; sweeping and vehement assertions of a conspiracy formed prior to the convention, to perpetrate, through the action of the convention, a fraud upon the Republican electors of the State of Illinois.

Of these charges so positively made, not one syllable of proof was adduced before the Committee. We cannot regard the unsupported declarations of these contesting delegates as furnishing even the slightest proof satisfactory to us, or to the Convention, or to the country, of the truth of the charges which they make.

If a gigantic conspiracy to defraud the electors of the State of Illinois had been organized as is positively asserted, and if that conspiracy was worked out in the actual proceedings of the convention, there could be, it would seem to us, no difficulty in furnishing some evidence in support of a charge so grave and serious in its character. Not a syllable of evidence was adduced, and an examination of the record of the proceedings of that convention, so far from furnishing any evidence on which to base these charges, in our judgment completely and decisively refutes them.

It is asserted in the memorial to which we have referred that an agreement was entered into on Sunday, the 9th day of May, to "bolt" the county convention held in Cook county. No evidence of any such agreement has been furnished to us, nor to the Committee, although during the session of the Committee a call was made by the representatives of the seated delegates for the production of such evidence, if any existed.

The memorial neglects to state what clearly and conclusively appears to be the fact, that not only was there no "bolt" premeditated, but that there was none in point of fact.

We deem it unnecessary to enter into the details either of the Cook county convention or of the primary election which preceded the meeting of that convention; it is sufficient to say here that the representations of the seated delegates charged that the grossest frauds had been perpetrated at its primaries, and not only made the charge, but proffered to this Committee ample and decisive evidence to sustain those charges. It was charged, and the evidence was proffered to the Committee, that several of the wards were carried by frauds of the grossest and most conspicuous character, and these charges of fraud were not denied by the gentlemen appearing for the contestants, but one of those gentlemen frankly conceded that frauds were practiced and sought to excuse it merely in the assertion for the support of which he furnished no evidence whatever, and proffered no evidence, that frauds had also been committed on the other side. It appears that the Republican State Committee of the State of Illinois, in 1876, adopted for Cook county the plan of having its delegates vote in said convention, not as a county, but by Senatorial districts.

Within the territorial boundaries of Cook county there are seven Senatorial districts from the First to the Seventh, both inclusive. In State convention these Senatorial districts vote as such, and the county, as a county, is not known. Notwithstanding the gross frauds practiced at the primaries at those elections, the delegates known as the Grant delegates carried three Senatorial districts, the First, Third and Fourth; and had a positive and decided majority in the Second. This entitled them to thirty-six delegates to the State convention, that being the number of delegates to which those Senatorial districts were entitled to vote. These primaries were held on Saturday, the 8th of May, and it appears in the issue of the daily papers on Sunday, the *Chicago Tribune* among the number, the right of these thirty-six delegates was not even questioned, but during that day a scheme was concocted in violation of all the precedents and traditions of the party in Cook county, to smother these Senatorial districts, to deny them the right to select their own delegates, and to send a solid "anti-Grant" delegation to Springfield, notwithstanding the fact that when the call for Cook county was reached, these Senatorial districts were independently called.

This corrupt and dishonest scheme was proclaimed by the public press in the city of Chicago on Monday morning, and a full history of the conference which led to it given in the *Chicago Tribune*. Mr. Horace M. Singer, whose integrity seems to be unquestioned, a steadfast and life-long Republican, is chairman of the Cook county central committee, and as such chairman, it devolved upon him to call the convention to order. With the utmost fairness, this he proceeded to do, after having consulted with various gentlemen, representing all interests, as to the policy he should adopt.

He decided to himself as presiding officer, in effecting a temporary organization, to place in nomination, Mr. George Struckman, a well known citizen and a prominent "Washburne" delegate. Calling the convention to order, he proceeded to nominate Mr. Struckman. He was at once interrupted, was unable to be heard; a scene of great confusion ensued.

Some one in the body of the hall proceeded to make another nomination, which was declared carried. Mr. Singer was violently hustled from his position, but returned, and beseeching order, announcing, as he himself, and as the *Chicago Tribune* in its detailed report of the proceedings of this convention states, his desire only to submit the name of Mr. Struckman to the convention for its action; but utterly unable to secure order, and as Mr. Singer declares, the proceedings being so riotous and tumultuous, that no business could be conducted, declared the convention adjourned to meet at the Palmer House club rooms.

The fact that Mr. Singer declared this convention adjourned is studiously and steadily ignored by the contestants and their representatives, but the fact exists nevertheless, and upon this point we submit the statement made by Mr. Singer himself. It is absurd to call these proceedings thus far the result of any premeditation; there was no conspiracy whatever, except the conspiracy which the *Chicago Tribune* promulgated to stifle the voice of three Senatorial districts in that convention, and to deprive them of their right to the selection of delegates to the State convention.

At close of the description of this conspiracy, thus to stifle the voice of three Senatorial districts, the *Chicago Tribune* in its article already referred to, says: "In the appointment of this committee, the business of the morning was ended, so far as preliminaries were

concerned, and the delegates marched through the pouring rain to Farwell Hall, where the scalping was expected to begin at ten o'clock, sharp."

This is all the conspiracy, and the only conspiracy, of the existence of which any proof was offered to this Committee. Upon the adjournment of the convention by Mr. Singer, a large body of delegates repaired, pursuant to the adjournment, to the club rooms of the Palmer House, where they were called to order by Mr. Singer, and an organization was effected.

Ninety-two delegates were selected by Senatorial districts, and upon the assembling of the State convention appeared there, contesting the right of the so-called "Farwell Hall" delegation. The fragment left of the "Farwell Hall" convention proceeded to its work, threw out the regularly elected delegates from the Twelfth ward, thus securing a majority of the Second Congressional district; seated the fraudulently elected delegates of the First ward, thus securing another Congressional district; selected their ninety-two delegates to Springfield, and it is proper to remark, selected their delegates by Senatorial districts, the result being that the delegates from the First, Third and Fourth Senatorial districts were selected by the delegates from the other Senatorial districts, thus recognizing the call of the State convention, and thus recognizing clearly and emphatically the right of each Senatorial district to elect its own delegates. Appearing before the State convention, the State Central Committee, recognizing the contest, gave to both delegations the privilege of seats in the gallery of the convention hall. A committee on credentials was selected, composed of one from each Congressional district; to which committee the whole question was submitted, and three reports were made, one recommending the seating of fifty six of the "Farwell Hall" delegates, and thirty-six of the "Palmer House" delegation; another recommending the seating of the entire "Palmer House" delegation; upon which no action was taken by the convention; and a third recommending the seating of the entire "Farwell Hall" delegation. There certainly was no effort to stifle discussion upon this contest before the committee on credentials in the State convention. That committee had the question under consideration for nearly a day and a half before submitting these reports.

Upon the presentation of these reports to the State convention time was allotted to each side there represented to present its case through its own chosen representatives, and both sides were fully and thoroughly heard. First, upon the report recommending the seating of the entire Farwell Hall delegation, which was rejected by a majority of eighty, which has been erroneously stated to be a majority of only thirty-eight. The question then came up on the report recommending the admission of fifty-six of the Farwell Hall delegation, and thirty-six of the Palmer House delegation, which was adopted by the convention by a majority of eighty; whereupon the admitted delegates immediately took their seats in the convention, and participated in all the subsequent proceedings.

A permanent organization being effected, a resolution was offered that the delegates to the National Convention be selected by a committee of one from each Congressional district, to be appointed by the chair. This motion led to long and animated discussions, consuming many hours, and was finally adopted by a positive majority. The chair named a committee, and that committee recommended as delegates to the National Convention the re-seated delegates, selecting two from each Congressional district pursuant to

the call of the National Committee, and four delegates from the State-at-large.

Upon the motion to adopt the report of that committee discussion was had, and the report was adopted by a decisive and positive majority. All the delegates thus selected, and whose selection was thus reviewed and endorsed by the action of the State convention, appear before this Convention with their credentials regularly signed by the President and Secretary of the State convention. The names of no other delegates were submitted to that convention for its action, and we can only know that other delegates were selected in any other form by the statements which have been made before the committee, for it is conceded upon all hands that, whatever other selections of delegates may have been made, such selections were never presented to the convention for its action, and no report of such selections was ever made, or evidence furnished to the State convention, save such as may be embodied in the protests filed by these various Congressional districts as the convention was about closing its deliberations.

The call for the State convention is as follows:

" ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION.

" HEADQUARTERS  
" REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, }  
" February 25, 1880.

" The Republican voters of Illinois are requested to elect delegates to a Republican State convention, to be held in the city of Springfield on Wednesday, May 19, 1880, at the hour of twelve, noon, for the purpose of electing—

" Forty-two delegates to the Republican National Convention, to be held at Chicago, June 2, 1880

" Also for nominating candidates to be voted for at the November election of 1880, to fill the following offices, to-wit:

Here follows the names of the counties, and opposite each the vote cast in such county in 1876, and the number of delegates allotted to such county, excepting that no delegates were allotted to Cook county as a county, but to each of the seven Senatorial districts in said county, as follows:

" Governor.

" Lieutenant-Governor.

" Secretary of State.

" Auditor of Public Accounts.

" State Treasurer.

" Attorney General.

" Two Presidential Electors-at-large and nineteen district Electors.

" The basis of representation will be the vote cast for the Republican Presidential Electors at the election in 1876, to-wit: One delegate for every 400 votes, and one for each fraction of 200 votes.

" The following shows the number of votes cast, and the number of delegates each county will be entitled to send, to-wit:

	Vote in 1876.	No. Delegates.
Cook .....	86,898	...
First Senatorial district.....		10
Second Senatorial district.....		20
Third Senatorial district.....		9
Fourth Senatorial district.....		17
Fifth Senatorial district.....		11
Sixth Senatorial district.....		10
Seventh Senatorial district.....		15

"Signed by the Republican State Central Committee.

"A. M. JONES, *Chairman.*

"DANIEL SHEPARD, *Secretary.*"

From this call it appears that the authority, which was to select delegates to the National Convention, was not a congregation of Congressional districts, nor is there any convention called of Congressional districts. It is a call for a convention of Republicans of the State of Illinois, for the purpose, among others, of selecting for the entire State forty-two delegates to the National Convention. Responding to this call, clear and unmisunderstandable on its face, various delegates, 693 in number, assembled in Springfield. When that body became organized it was a State convention. It spoke not for one Congressional district nor for twenty, as such, but for the State as a political entity. It assembled to express the will of the Republicans of Illinois, that will to find its expression through the action of the majority of the Republicans of the entire State there assembled. In the expression of its preferences for candidates, the whole State spoke, and it is absurd to say, that because in the indication of such preferences one-third of the convention were defeated in the preferences which they held, they were therefore disfranchised. In bodies of this character the minority or the majority must rule. There can be no division of rule. And the majority of the Republicans of the State of Illinois, assembled in State convention, pursuant to the call, proceeding from the legitimate, official source, declared their preference for Ulysses S. Grant, and instructed the delegates to the convention to vote as a unit for him. Is this Convention to say that the majority of the convention of the State of Illinois possessed no such power?

Will this Convention undertake to say, and will the country justify it in saying, that the majority of the people in so great a State shall not be permitted to express their preferences on questions of this character, and that if they have clear and distinct preferences they shall be utterly helpless in the selection of the methods by which that preference is to be made effectual? It is absurd upon the face of it to say that Illinois, or any other State, has the right to instruct its delegates to vote for a particular candidate, and yet has not the power to make such instruction effectual and binding.

It is absurd to say that a great State possessing this power of giving expression to its will, and the will of its majority, possesses no means for preventing the defeat of that will by violated instructions, by broken pledges, or by corrupted faith.

The Republicans of the State of Illinois, and indeed of every other State in this Union, will ere long be alive to the danger which environs the rights of the majority; will ere long see that the enforcement of those rights cannot depend alone on a mere declaration of what that majority's will is, but must be clothed with a power

of executing and asserting it. And if this will, thus expressed, is in danger of being defeated by fraud, by trickery or corruption, the State thus imperiled has the right to place as the exponents of its will, men in position who cannot be corrupted, and whom no agencies of political treachery or fraud can reach. This was precisely what the majority of the Republicans of the State of Illinois, in State convention assembled, undertook to do and succeeded in doing.

Since the Republican party has had an existence, there has been but one instance where the Republicans of the State failed to instruct their delegates to a National Convention to vote as a unit. They were instructed to vote for Lincoln on precisely the same terms as the State delegation were instructed to vote for Grant. There has, fortunately, in the political history of the State of Illinois, as appears, been no instance in which any delegate thus instructed has ever deemed it wise or prudent to undertake to violate those instructions. There has been but one instance in which those instructions were not given; that was in 1876, when the positive majority of the convention favored the nomination of Mr. Blaine; by a mere oversight the formality of instructions was omitted, and delegates, taking advantage of it, voted against the clearly known will of the convention, and practically defeated the nomination of Mr. Blaine. We are assured that it is but a historical truth, that in 1876 not a delegate could by any possibility have found a place as such, had his opposition to Mr. Blaine been announced.

The inquiry, then, resolves itself simply into this: Had the State convention the right to determine the manner in which delegates to the National Convention should be selected? This is the state of the question, and all there is substantially in the controversy; and this branch of the subject may be treated in two parts,—First, as to the matter of precedent; and, Second, as to the inherent rights of State conventions to regulate and direct, without supervision or control, the order and methods of their business, and the performance of their political duties.

*First.* Examining the history of the conventions of the State of Illinois, we have discovered that in every instance the convention itself has set in motion the machinery, and has determined the methods, by which delegates to the National Conventions have been elected and appointed.

1. In 1856, the district delegates were requested to suggest names of delegates to the National Convention, and candidates for Presidential Electors for the State-at-large, were recommended by a committee appointed by the chair.

2. In 1860, a committee called a "*nominating committee*" "selected" by the district delegations, "presented" a list of delegates and Electors for the State-at-large, and it was "received" by the convention. It was subsequently "*ordered*" that the district delegations hand in a list of district delegates and Electors, which was done. At that convention the president was authorized to "*appoint*" a State Central Committee,—a duty which he performed after the convention adjourned.

3. In 1864, delegates to the National Convention, members of the State Central Committee, and Electors of the State-at-large, (respectively) were "nominated" by a committee composed of one member from each Congressional district, and the district delegations were authorized to select one of each of these for their districts severally. The report of the "*nominating committee*" was formally adopted by the convention, except as to one Elector—the report being amended

by the substitution by the convention of the name of Gen. B. M. Prentiss for that of T. J. Henderson.

4. In 1868, a committee to choose Electors and delegates to the National Convention was appointed, and its report was *formally "adopted"* by the convention.

5. In 1872, the names of members of five committees—the last being on delegates and Electors—were presented from the several districts, under authority of a resolution adopted by the convention.

6. In 1876, the same committee were authorized to be appointed as in 1872, and the same general policy pursued.

*Second. In every instance the State convention acted upon the appointment of delegates, primarily, by authorizing the appointment of committees, and prescribing how they should perform their duty,—authorizing them to "suggest" or "recommend" names, or "ordering" them to hand in lists,—in one case "receiving" the report, in another "adopting" it, and in one amending it. In all cases it evidently acted as if it had entire control of the subject; and if the district delegation had any authority over it, it was because that authority was delegated by the convention.*

Thus it is seen that the final source of power, so far as political precedents and history of the State of Illinois are concerned in selecting delegates to National Conventions, is the State convention itself.

Thus it is seen that, however these delegates may be selected, the method of selection has uniformly and invariably been determined by the body of the convention. If the selection has been made by committees, it has been because the convention has authorized them to be so made. If the selection has been by action of Congressional districts, it is because the convention has authorized them to be so made. If the selection has been by committees appointed by Congressional districts, it is because the convention has authorized the Congressional districts to make the appointments, and in no case has either committee or Congressional districts been permitted without the ratification of the convention to imperatively name delegates to the National Convention. In the three preceding conventions delegates to the National Convention were recommended by a committee; that committee was appointed by a Congressional district, but a majority of the convention had conferred upon the Congressional district by its previous vote the power to organize those committees.

In the present instances the selection of delegates was made also by a committee, the only difference being that the committee was named by the chair instead of being named by the Congressional districts. The authority, in the present instance, of the chair to name this committee proceeded from the convention. The authority, in the preceding instances of the Congressional districts to name the committee, proceeding from the same source. In the present instance, the delegates selected by committees appointed by the chair were submitted to the convention for its approval and were approved by a positive majority. In the former instance the delegates selected by a committee appointed by the Congressional districts were also submitted to the convention for its approval and ratified by the convention.

The proposition now is, for the National Convention here assembled to deny the right of the State convention of the State of Illinois, acting as a convention, to determine the methods by which the delegates to a National Convention shall be elected.

The denial of such a right and proceeding from this quarter would work results as we believe, utterly disastrous to the harmonious

action of the party throughout the Union. The various States in the Union will not tolerate it, and will not accept the doctrine that the National Convention, made up of all the States, shall dictate the methods of proceeding to the convention of any State. The course pursued in Iowa and in Kansas, and in Nebraska, is quite like that adopted by the Republicans of the State of Illinois. The methods of Massachusetts may, perhaps, be much wiser and better than the methods of Illinois, but Illinois insists on the right of selecting its own methods, and, while it will gladly accept suggestions from Massachusetts or Maine, or any other State, denies the right of Massachusetts or Maine, or any other State, to manage its State conventions, or to attempt even to direct the methods which the Republicans of the State of Illinois shall adopt for the expression of their convictions and opinions.

The curious results which are likely to follow from the Congressional district method are strikingly illustrated by the facts presented to this Committee in reference to the selection of delegates on that system from the Thirteenth Congressional district in the State of Illinois. At the assembling of the convention of the delegates from the various counties composing that district, Gen. Grant had a majority of one, the votes standing twenty and nineteen. One of the delegates constituting that majority suddenly disappeared, and mysteriously disappeared; that corrupt measures were resorted to, there would seem from the papers before us no reason to doubt. This disappearing delegate never returned to Springfield. He thus mysteriously left in the night, having during the day attended a Grant caucus, and in the morning, in his place his alternate appeared in the caucus of the opposition. In that way and by those methods was the majority formed in that Congressional district, and this is what the authors of this remarkable memorial called the disfranchisement of the Republicans in the Thirteenth Congressional district.

It is worthy of mention here—the severe criticisms which have been passed on the conduct of the presiding officer of the State convention. As we have already said, not one syllable of proof has been offered in support of these very serious charges. As we have already said, an inspection of the record of the proceedings of that convention explodes those charges, and leaves us to suggest that in the vehemence of their passion, the propriety or necessity of a fair and truthful statement of the situation seemed never to have occurred to the representatives of these contestants, nor to the contestants themselves. At the close of the convention, or nearly at its close, Mr. William E. Kieffner, who is one of the Congressional district delegates from the Seventeenth Congressional district, who was a delegate in that convention, addressed the convention, and used the following language, as it was reported:

“We are about to conclude what I suppose has been the most exciting and most protracted convention ever held by the Republican party of this State. During all this time the duties of the chair have been most arduous and difficult, and I, as one of the minority, desire to bear testimony to the uniform courtesy, and impartiality, and efficiency with which the chair, as well as the officers of the convention, have discharged their duties.” He supplemented this highly complimentary speech, and, as we are constrained to believe, an entirely truthful statement as to the presiding officer and the other officers of that convention, by a resolution, of which the following is a copy:



*"Resolved, That the thanks of the members of this convention are due, and are hereby tendered, to the Hon. Green B. Raum, the President, and to all the other officers of this convention for their honesty and impartial discharge of the arduous duties devolved upon them during the three days' session of this body, and that this resolution be spread upon the records of this convention."*

This resolution, notwithstanding the bitterness of feeling that had characterized the convention in the highly exciting scenes through which it had passed, was adopted unanimously by a rising vote. We are constrained to think that it is late for Mr. Kieffner, late for the fifty-six Farwell Hall delegates who participated in the action of that convention, late for these contestants who were delegates in that convention, and voted enthusiastically in support of that resolution, to now impeach the fairness of the presiding officer, and because, in their judgment, the emergency of the situation requires them to repudiate their action. Where an inconsistency so gross and palpable is made so manifest, surely no such body as a National Convention can entertain a charge of fraud preferred by gentlemen whose statements made here, and whose statements made at different times on the same subject, are so utterly inconsistent and irreconcilable with each other.

With great good faith, another resolution was adopted, practically ratifying the action of the convention, and which is as follows:

*Resolved, The Republicans of Illinois, in convention assembled, declare that they will support the nominees of this convention for State officers, and the nominees of the Chicago Convention for President and Vice-President.*

The spirit in which this resolution was received by the convention, including the so-called disfranchised delegates, is thus described:

*"A vote upon the resolution was taken, and the vast audience rose to their feet, amid swinging of hats, and shouts, and waving of handkerchiefs. It was several minutes before the enthusiasm subsided."*

We can see, in recognizing the claim made by these contestants nothing but danger and peril in the future. We can but regard it as the establishment of a precedent fraught with evils and pregnant with peril. This body, while it may sympathize with the griefs, real or suppositious, of the Republicans in Cook county, and in other localities in this State, can hardly take the time to settle the personal differences which manifestly have fanned those questions into hot flames by which this Convention has been surrounded since it has sojourned here. It will not do to transfer the local squabbles of the State into National Conventions. Those differences must be settled by the Republicans of the State; and the minority in any State, and in all States, while it has the right to just and fair treatment, and, while all those rights must be regarded, must remember, no matter how large the minority may be, that among its rights is not the right to rule. The gentlemen contestants were in the minority in the State convention of the State of Illinois.

In that position, they can hardly expect to carry through their schemes. We cannot be called upon to aid them in such a dilemma, and the introduction into our National politics, and our National party government, of the principle contended for, transfers from the great cities, festering in political frauds, the tedious and sickening recital and story of those frauds to be fanned into fresh flames by renewed discussion before the Republicans of the Nation. The pretence of this disfranchisement has no foundation. The appointments

made by these so-called Congressional district meetings appear to have been entirely private; the methods they pursued seem to have been known only to themselves.

We cannot recognize the action of the minority, even when it is taken separately and in detail, and we are confident in the belief that this Convention can take no step more certain to lead to the most disastrous results in the future than the denial to the Republican electors of the State of Illinois of the right of a majority of those electors to express in this Convention their will, and in their fashion and through their selected agents. Thus confidently believing, we respectfully submit to this Convention, and through the Convention to the country, that the regularly elected and now seated delegates, should retain their seats in this body. All of which is respectfully submitted.

B. F. TRACY, New York.  
POWELL CLAYTON, Arkansas.  
WEBSTER FLANAGAN, Texas.  
GREEN B. RAUM, Illinois.  
WILLIAM J. HOOPER, Maryland.  
ISAAC HEYMAN, Alabama.  
GEORGE T. CLARK, Colorado.  
RICHARD P. STOLL, Kentucky.  
H. E. HAVENS, Missouri.  
J. M. THORNBURGH, Tennessee.  
JOHN CESSNA, Pennsylvania.  
CHARLES C. TOMPKINS, Virginia.  
WILLIAM N. TAFT, South Carolina.  
JOSEPH E. LEE, Florida.

The minority are unable to agree with the views of the majority in the Utah case, for the following reason:

The sitting delegates were appointed by a Territorial Executive Committee selected four years previous, and whose duty it was to have called a Territorial convention. This they neglected and refused to do, against the wishes of the Republicans of the Territory.

The contestants were appointed by a representative convention called by a large number of the leading Republicans of the Territory, in which the Republican voters of the Territory were fully and fairly represented. That the contestants appointed by that convention represent the wishes of the Republicans of Utah, and that the action of the Territorial committee in usurping the authority of the people is condemned by the Republican voters of the Territory, is clearly established.

B. F. TRACY, New York.  
WEBSTER FLANAGAN, Texas.  
POWELL CLAYTON, Arkansas.

We concur:

H. E. HAVENS, Missouri.  
GREEN B. RAUM, Illinois.  
JOSEPH E. LEE, Florida.  
J. M. THORNBURGH, Tennessee.

The undersigned concurs with the minority of the Committee in the case of Utah only:

C. R. CODMAN, Massachusetts.

The minority wish to call the attention of the Convention especially to the contest in West Virginia. We insist that it stands

in respect to principle and facts, precisely upon the same grounds of the contests in Illinois, Alabama and Kansas. The contestants were selected as delegates by the caucus, (or convention, as characterized by the majority,) of the Congressional delegation in attendance upon the State convention. Their names were reported to the convention. The State convention refused to give them credentials to this Convention, but selected other delegates upon the ground that the contestants, although properly representing the sentiments of their constituents, were not in accord with a majority of the State convention.

The minority insist that if the report of the majority in respect to the Illinois, Alabama and Kansas cases is adopted, the contestants from West Virginia should also be admitted to seats in this Convention in place of the sitting delegates.

POWELL CLAYTON, Arkansas.  
CHARLES C. TOMPKINS, Virginia.

We concur:

WEBSTER FLANAGAN, Texas.  
JOSEPH E. LEE, Florida.  
RICHARD P. STOLL, Kentucky.  
JOHN CESSNA, Pennsylvania.  
WILLIAM J. HOOPER, Maryland.  
J. M. THORNBURGH, Tennessee.  
GEORGE T. CLARK, Colorado.  
GREEN B. RAUM, Illinois.

#### ROLL OF MEMBERS.

**Mr. CONGER.** *Mr. President.* In addition to the report which I have already presented from the Committee I send the corrected roll of the members reported as entitled to seats here.

**The PRESIDENT.** The Committee submit a corrected roll, in accordance with their report, and as a part thereof. It will be unnecessary to read the roll.

**Mr. CONGER.** It is submitted as a part of the report. **Mr. President,** on the part of the Committee, I now ask that the Convention will take into consideration first the Louisiana case, and I ask that the report of the Committee upon that subject may be read. The part of the report relating to the Louisiana case is very brief.

**The PRESIDENT.** Let it be read.

#### DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT.

**Mr. CESSNA,** of Pennsylvania. I ask permission of the chairman of our Committee [Mr. Conger] to make a suggestion in regard to the manner in which this report shall be considered, which, I trust, will facilitate the business of the Convention. Unless he or some other member has objection, I ask that the report be divided into five general parts; that the first part thereof shall embrace all the questions upon which there is no difference of opinion; that the second general division of the report shall embrace the State of Alabama; that the third general division of the report shall embrace the State of Illinois; that the fourth division shall embrace the State of West Virginia; and that the fifth general division of the report shall embrace the Territory of Utah. I ask that that general division may be made. I will put it in writing if the Chair will allow it, reserving the right to make further sub-division of these general divisions, and I ask that the vote may be taken upon the first branch of this report

without further reading or controversy, for the reason, as we have all agreed upon all of these propositions except four, that the undisputed and agreed-upon portions of the report may first be adopted. Then we will take up the States in their alphabetical order.

The PRESIDENT. The chairman of the Committee moves that the Convention now proceed to the consideration of the case of the State of Louisiana. Does the chairman accept the suggestion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania? [Mr. Cessna.]

Mr. CONGER. Not at present. The Committee propose to take up the several subjects embraced in the report, in the order in which they have been presented in the report of the Committee; and have divided the subjects into eleven parts: First, the Louisiana case; Second, the Fourth Alabama district, called the Rapier case; Third, the Seventh Alabama district, the Smith and Warner case; Fourth, the Illinois cases, embracing the nine districts, to-wit: the First, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth and Seventeenth, all depending upon substantially the same questions and facts; Fifth, the Second district of Illinois; Sixth, a question about which there will be no dispute, the delegates-at-large from Illinois; Seventh, the Second and Third districts of Kansas; Eighth, the Ninth district of Pennsylvania; Ninth, the Nineteenth district of Pennsylvania; Tenth, the Third district of West Virginia; and, Eleventh, the case of Utah.

The PRESIDENT. Does the Chair understand the chairman of the Committee to object to the present acceptance of so much of the report as relates to the roll of delegates whose seats are uncontested, making the great bulk of the Convention?

Mr. CONGER. The report of the names of the members embraces all the recommendations of the Committee, both uncontested and in contest. The action of the Convention will determine whether that list remains the list. There is no objection to accepting the roll as presented as to all uncontested cases.

Mr. CESSNA. I appeal to my friend from Michigan, [Mr. Conger] the chairman of our committee, and ask him if he does not think we will save much time by adopting first all of the report upon which we have all agreed. That will take seven of his eleven divisions out of consideration at once, and will leave only four to be considered in their order thereafter. If the Chair will entertain the motion I shall make it in that way—that we adopt the entire report upon which we have not differed, and proceed to consider the four subjects of difference in their order.

Mr. CONGER. If the gentleman will state, so that we understand alike, what subjects are to be reserved from that, I presume there will be no objection to that.

Mr. CESSNA. The four questions that I ask to have reserved are the four subjects upon which the Committee divided. The first is the State of Alabama; second, the State of Illinois; third, the State of West Virginia; and fourth, the Territory of Utah. Let us take the report which comes from the majority and from the minority upon all of the seven uncontested questions and adopt it by acclamation, and then proceed to settle questions which are in dispute.

Mr. CONGER. I desire to ask the gentleman if the Louisiana case is included also in the part to be considered?

Mr. CESSNA. Louisiana is embraced in my first proposition and goes with the undisputed questions.

Mr. CONGER. Then I have no objection to accepting the proposition made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna].

The **PRESIDENT**. The Chair will state the proposition. Is there objection to accepting so much of the report of the Committee as relates to the seats of delegates concerning which there is no contest, and to the seats of delegates in regard to which the Committee are unanimous?

**Mr. CONKLING**, of New York. *Mr. President*: I ask the Chair to state what he means by the phrase, "delegates as to whose seats there is no contest?" Does the Chair mean as to which there is no difference of opinion in the Committee on Credentials?

The **PRESIDENT**. No Sir. The Chair means by that phrase to include the seats of the great bulk of the Convention, including that of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] and his own.

**Mr. CONKLING**. But, Mr. President, no such thing as I understand it, has been referred to the Committee on Contested Seats. What has that Committee to do with the great body of seats here, touching which there is no objection, and which I supposed had never been referred to the Committee.

The **PRESIDENT**. The Chair will inform the gentleman from New York that a Committee on Credentials and Contested Seats has been raised. To that Committee all the credentials of every member of the Convention have been referred. The Committee reports a roll, which is the list of the members of the Convention, showing 756 names.

**Mr. CONKLING**. Then will the Chair indulge me in another inquiry? Is that list unchanged except as far as we have been advised?

The **PRESIDENT**. The Chair supposes that to be the case.

**Mr. CONKLING**. I will thank the Chair to inquire of the Committee if that is the case.

**Mr. CONGER**. I did not hear the inquiry of the gentleman from New York. Will he please repeat it?

**Mr. CONKLING**. Not being aware, until informed by the Chair, that the ceremony of handing over the credentials from all States alike to the Committee had taken place, I ask this question, or I should ask it, if the Chairman of the Committee was not attending to other business? I inquire now that I have his attention, whether the report of the Committee leaves untouched and unchanged in the case of every single delegate the roll of the Convention, except so far as the report of the Committee apprises us that they make recommendations?

**Mr. CESSNA**, of Pennsylvania. It does.

**Mr. CONGER**. *Mr. President*: The names comprising the roll presented by the Committee, after an examination of all credentials, with the exception of those cases referred to in the report of the Committee, remains untouched and are reported as the properly returned members of this Convention except that it was submitted to the delegates from several States to make any clerical corrections of initials or names. No change whatever of any delegate was made, except what was reported by the Committee and read to the house.

**Mr. CONKLING**. Understanding that sufficiently as I believe I do, I beg to ask the President of the Convention, or the Chairman of the Committee, to state to us, as can be done in a moment, what are the topics that will fall within the description of undisputed points of the report. Let us hear them enumerated once. I ask for a mere enumeration.

The **PRESIDENT**. The Committee have reported a list of Members of this Convention. If there had been no seat in the Convention

contested at all, the Committee would have made up that list simply from the credentials handed them, and it would probably have conformed, except as to changes in the initials or otherwise with the roll of the Convention made by the National Committee. That roll is returned by the Committee as a part of their report, and the proposition is that that part of their report containing that roll, about which there is no dispute, and the part relating to seats where there has been a contest, but as to which the Committee are unanimous, as it appears from the two reports, be now accepted by the Convention by general consent.

Mr. CONKLING. I hope the Chair will pardon me. My inquiry is, what is that branch of the report as to which there is no difference?

Mr. CONGER. I will state the items of that part of the report.

Mr. CONKLING. If the gentleman will be kind enough, I will be glad to hear it.

Mr. CONGER. First, the Louisiana case is agreed to without any division in the Committee; Second, the Second district of Illinois; Third, the question of delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois; Fourth, the Second and Third districts of Kansas; Fifth, the Ninth district of Pennsylvania; Sixth, the Nineteenth district of Pennsylvania. The Committee, without division, report unanimously in favor of those delegates referred to in these districts having their seats in the Convention, and these are the undisputed cases.

Mr. CONKLING. If the gentleman will pardon me, shall I understand that, as to the State of Kansas, there is no difference in the Committee?

Mr. CONGER. I desire to say to the gentleman [Mr. Conkling] that in regard to the Kansas case, the Committee were agreed and made but one report on the subject. The disputed cases, that they may be all spoken of together, are the cases in the Fourth Alabama district, the Seventh Alabama district, and the nine districts of Illinois which I have read,—the First, Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth and Seventeenth, the Third district of West Virginia, and the Territory of Utah. These last are the only cases about which there was dispute in the Committee.

The PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the proposition?

Mr. LOGAN, of Illinois. I desire to make an inquiry here of the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials [Mr. Conger]. I now, for the first time, am informed that there was ever any question in reference to the four delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois. May I be permitted, sir, to ask who has contested the seats of the four delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois.

Mr. CONGER. *Mr. President:* There was presented to the Committee on Credentials communications purporting to contest the right of the delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois, sent to that Committee from this Convention, requiring some action of the Committee. For that reason the Committee considered it, and have reported upon it, and unanimously reported no contest in regard to the delegates-at-large from Illinois. But, in the fulfillment of their duty to consider all matters presented by the Convention to them, it was necessary that it should appear in the report and be reported upon.

Mr. LOGAN. I desire further to say, sir, where there is a contest in any deliberative body, the person whose seat is contested is usually notified of it. Now, if there has been no contest, I would like to know by what rule, by what authority, the names of four delegates from the State-at-large are to be passed upon by this Convention as to their right to seats. I desire to know by what authority

this Convention can vote on my right to sit here when no man has challenged it. I of course, do not object to any course that may be taken; but, sir, I do object to the manner in which the names of a portion of the delegates from this proud State, in which I was born, have been brought before this Convention, the purpose of which, sir, I well understand. I do not wish any contest here in reference to extraneous or outside matters with any one. I came here as a delegate with the most kindly feeling toward each and every delegate, and toward each and every candidate before this Convention. But sir, as the representative of a great State, I am entitled to fair treatment on this floor. As I said the other day, without any notice of contest of seats of sitting members here, we had to work our way into this hall by permission of the door-keepers, because we received tickets different from any other sitting member here, and were unknown to the door-keepers and ushers. The second day the same thing was repeated, and sir, the National Committee had to be called together yesterday to pass a resolution to take the power out of the hands of the man, of insulting us further on this floor. Why thus treat the great State that furnished you a Douglas and a Lincoln—yes, more, my countrymen, the man who led your armies against treason? Sir, I want to know in the presence of the great people of this grand Republic, have we ever as Republicans failed to do our duty in the hour of danger? When the storm came and the dark clouds lowered over your country and over its peace and prosperity, who gave more muscle, and arm, and soldierly qualities, and munitions of war for the preservation of this great Republic than the proud State of Illinois? Sir, I only ask that we shall be treated like other delegates; no more, no less. *That* we are entitled to, and for *that* I appeal to these delegates here. You have no right, sir, to ask this Convention to vote upon my seat unless some man objects to it. I enter my protest in this Convention against this Convention voting as to whether I am entitled to sit here, or not, unless some man claims my seat and demands a contest.

Mr. PLUMB, of Kansas. I ask the Chairman to state the question upon the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna] so that we may know in this part of the hall just what was included within it. And I then ask the Chair to state, after the question has been stated, whether the propositions embraced within that motion are susceptible of division?

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Michigan, [Mr. Conger] the Chairman of the Committee, proposed to proceed to the consideration of the case of Louisiana, and that is the pending motion. Then the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna] requested the acceptance by the Chairman of the proposition which he made. The Chairman then suggested to the Convention the proposition to accept, by unanimous consent, so much of the report of the Committee as contains the roll of the Convention, so far as it includes the seats of all delegates concerning whom there was no contest, and concerning whom the Committee were agreed. If there is objection to that proposition, of course it will not be entertained.

Mr. PLUMB, of Kansas. I beg to object, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT. The proposition is objected to. The question is on the proposition of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Conger.]

Mr. CESSNA. I desire to say that, since I made my suggestion, objections have been made, to me, from members of the Convention to the action of this Committee upon the subject of Kansas. And therefore, I now ask to add a division, and make it six divisions

instead of five, so that Kansas shall take its place among the disputed questions, in its order.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. Yes; that is right.

Mr. CESSNA. I make that addition because the minority of the Committee took no action on the State of Kansas, and the majority of the Committee took the action which they have reported. I ask now that Kansas be made another addition, that being an objected or disputed question; and that we take a vote upon all the other questions which are not objected to either by the Committee or upon the floor.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Pennsylvania be kind enough to come to the platform and see that his motion is correctly put in writing by the Secretary?

Mr. CESSNA. I will do so.

#### ILLINOIS DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. I ask whether it is in order to amend the motion which is now before the house.

The PRESIDENT. It will be in order.

Mr. SHARPE. Then I move to amend the motion by directing the Committee on Contested Seats to strike from the majority report so much thereof as relates to the delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. The usual parliamentary custom, I believe, is to permit the motions of the Committee to be first made, and then amendments to them. The proposition of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna] was to ask unanimous consent to a certain set of propositions. The motion made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] either before that unanimous consent is given or afterwards, would be in order as an amendment to the motion which was originally made.

I desire, Mr. President, to say one word in reply to the remarks of my valued friend from Illinois [Mr. Logan.] I regret with more feeling than I have words to express, that a gentleman with whom I have labored for years in one house of Congress, and have known so favorably and so long in another, could have assumed for a moment that I, or any other member of the Committee with whom I had the honor of being associated, could have intended in this report the slightest reflection upon the honor, the name, the integrity, the admiration with which we all hold the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. LOGAN. If the gentleman from Michigan—

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Michigan yield?

Mr. CONGER. One word further, and then I will yield. I desire to say that it is but justice to myself, and but justice to the Committee, to repeat what I said, which I venture to say my friend did not hear, or did not give attention to,—that the credentials of every delegate on this floor were presented to that Committee, and the right to a seat of every delegate on the floor was passed upon by that Committee, as is always done. Sir, the high and the lifted up, and the humble and unknown delegate from the wilds of the South came together here, and an impartial Committee impartially passed upon their right to a seat in this Convention. There was sent from this Convention—and it ill becomes me to question the right of this most august body of men that ever met anywhere in these United States—the credentials of every State. There was sent to this Committee, of



which I had the honor to be the Chairman, objections against the right to a seat of many gentlemen who are present here to-day; among the rest, objections on one ground and another, in regard to members of the Illinois delegation, and among others to the right to a seat of the delegates-at-large. Sir, that Committee would have been recreant to its duty as a representative of Republican sentiment, if it had not investigated whatever the humblest member of the party sent through this august body for the consideration of that Committee. No gentleman in this vast assemblage can excel me in my admiration, in my respect for the distinguished military and civic services of the grand leader of the Illinois delegation. It became me, and it became my associates, when his right to a seat in this Convention assembled in the State where we *know* he was born—assembled in a State, among the proudest and most honored of whose citizens, the gentleman [Mr. Logan] stands lofty and pre-eminent,—it would have been unworthy of me, it would have been unworthy of that splendid Committee on Credentials, over which I had the honor to preside, not to have told this Convention in distinct words that the gentleman from Illinois, the much-loved citizen of this State, was entitled to a seat in this Convention. Sir, I make no apology to the gentleman for having reported in his favor. I make no apology to the grand State of Illinois for reporting that her chosen citizens have a right to be here, and to be recognized. No sir; and I make, Mr. President, no apology to this grand Convention, or to this immense concourse of citizens of the United States for presiding over a Committee that had the moral courage to say to the world that the gentleman from Illinois was entitled to a seat in this Convention.

In conclusion, sir, in the carrying out of that responsible but delightful duty—we have given expression to the time honored usages of that party which believes in the absolute equality of citizenship, and the absolute equality of members of a National Republican Convention.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. *Mr. President:* I ask for the information of the Convention, who it was that it was claimed was entitled to the seat of John A. Logan, of Illinois. I ask, not of the President of this Convention, but of the Chairman of the Committee.

Mr. LOGAN. *Mr. President:* I have listened sir, to the voice of my friend from Michigan, [Mr. Conger,] very often, and at all times when I hear it, its sounds are gentle and sweet. The gentleman knows that I attributed to him no wrong desire or design on his part, or on the part of the Committee, so far as that part was concerned, but my point is this: That Committee passed upon the credentials of every member of this Convention, and they are all reported back to this Convention except the four delegates-at-large from Illinois; and they, the report of the Committee says, are entitled to their seats. Why, sir, do you say the delegates from the State of Illinois are entitled to their seats without saying the four delegates-at-large from the other States are entitled to their seats? Why make that distinction, I desire to know of this Committee?

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. Will my friend from Illinois allow me to answer that question?

Mr. LOGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CESSNA. No objections were presented to our Committee as to the delegates-at-large from any other State of this Union except the State of Illinois. A long memorial, with a very extensive argument appended, was filed before us, (and it became our duty to pass

upon it) objecting to the right of those four delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois. It was an objection to their right, claiming that the seats should be declared vacant, and in answer to the question of the gentleman in front, [Mr. Sharpe] I would say that no man asked to take their places. That memorial was before our Committee, and we passed upon it, and that Committee unanimously declared that the memorial was wholly unfounded, and that the gentlemen from Illinois were as much entitled to their seats as the delegates-at-large from any other State in the Union.

Mr. LOGAN. Now, Mr. President, if that be the case—which I have no right to doubt—if that Committee unanimously decided that that memorial was rubbish, I ask him why the distinction was made in the report of the Committee to this Convention.

Why, sir, is it that the four delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois are not reported with the other delegates without saying that the four delegates of Illinois are entitled to their seats, not mentioning the delegates from any other State?

Mr. CESSNA. The gentleman misapprehends me. I did not mean to say, but perhaps I said incorrectly, that the report states that the four gentlemen were entitled to their seats; it is that the charge preferred against them was unfounded, and that is all that there is in that report.

Mr. LOGAN. Therefore, I say that we are entitled to the same treatment in this report as the four delegates-at-large from every other State. Where no contest is made, you have no right to make a distinction against us before this Convention, so as to go upon the record to show that we had a contest for our seats before this Convention. That is the point that I make, and that is the point that I desire to have decided by this Convention. I find, sir, a resolution in that Committee voted upon unanimously, of this kind, and it seems to me that that would have been the end of this strange paper that found its way before that Committee, by some means or other unknown to me.

*“Resolved, That the decision arrived at by the Committee upon the question presented by the contest from the Illinois districts is based upon the right of district representation, and is not intended as in any wise impugning the good faith of the Illinois State convention.”*

Now, then, if that was the basis of the contest in Illinois, in reference to the districts, and not in reference to the State convention, it had the right to appoint the four delegates-at-large, and I ask why these four delegates-at-large shall be separately placed in the report of that Committee to go before the country as having had their rights impugned in this Convention? This is all the point that I make, sir, and when the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Conger] speaks of “excitement,” he is much mistaken. No man has ever seen me excited in a contest of this kind. I can keep my temper as well as he can, and I know he is a cool man. All I ask, and all I desire now, is that we shall be placed upon a footing of equality here, without the country inquiring why the seats of the four delegates-at-large were contested, for that will be their understanding from this report.

#### DIVISION OF THE REPORT.

Mr. CESSNA. There seems to be some little misapprehension in regard to the proposition which I submitted. I therefore now make it in the shape of an amendment to the motion of the gentleman from Michigan, [Mr. Conger] that we proceed to divide this report

into six parts, the first part to embrace all of the report about which there is no difference; the second part of it to embrace all relating to the State of Alabama; the third part, all relating to the State of Illinois; the fourth part, all relating to the State of Kansas; the fifth, all relating to the State of West Virginia; and the sixth, and last part, all relating to the Territory of Utah, reserving the right to call for other subsequent divisions, if it should be desired, hereafter. Does the gentleman from Michigan accept that amendment?

MR. CONGER. I have already accepted that proposition.

THE PRESIDENT. The Chair understands the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] to press his amendment at this point?

MR. SHARPE. I want that motion put to the house at the proper time. If the Chair desires me to withdraw it now in order that unanimous consent may be obtained for the motion, I will do so, with the understanding that my motion is to be considered renewed immediately afterwards.

THE PRESIDENT. I understand that.

MR. CONGER. I accept the proposition of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna.]

THE PRESIDENT. The Chairman of the Committee accepts the proposition of the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. HICKS, of Florida. I understand from the Chairman of this Committee that the report of the majority of the Committee, on the case of Kansas, admits delegates on the theory of the majority of that Committee. Am I correct, Mr. President, in this surmise?

MR. CONGER. The case of Kansas is not embraced in the present motion. It is excepted from the present motion, as I understand it.

MR. HICKS. I am satisfied.

The motion of Mr. Cessna was agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe].

#### ILLINOIS DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

MR. SHARPE. My motion is to amend the majority report of the Committee by striking therefrom so much as relates to the four delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois.

THE PRESIDENT. The Chair is of the opinion that the motion, as put, literally, is out of order. The report is made by the Committee. The Chair does not understand that this is an amendable document, as a proposition before the Convention. The proper motion is to recommit the report to the Committee, with directions to strike out so much thereof as relates to the State of Illinois.

MR. CONKLING. I venture to rise to a question of order. Is not this report now before this Convention?

THE PRESIDENT. Undoubtedly.

MR. CONKLING. Is it not subject to the action of the Convention?

THE PRESIDENT. Undoubtedly.

MR. CONKLING. If a motion be in order to adopt the report, or to adopt any part of it, is it not in order to amend and perfect it before that motion is put?

THE PRESIDENT. That motion has not yet been made. It is. The Chair answers the gentleman from New York in the affirmative.

MR. CONKLING. Then I venture to suggest to the Chair that, without a motion, the report of the Committee being made, it is before the Convention for its action; and it is, I respectfully submit,

in the language of the Chair, and I think the Chair, on a moment's reflection, will agree with me, an "amendable document." Now, my colleague [Mr. Sharpe] moves, before further proceeding takes place, to amend it by adding something to it, or by subtracting something from it, and I submit to the Chair that, on reflection, the Chair, I think, will see that that motion must be in order.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is of opinion—

Mr. CONGER. I desire to speak to the point of order.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will hear the gentleman.

Mr. CONKLING. Let us have this point of order ruled on first.

Mr. CONGER. That is the point of order to which I wish to speak. Mr. President, the proposition made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] would undoubtedly be a correct proposition if applicable to the case. As a proposition of parliamentary law it is undoubtedly true. In this particular case, however, the Convention has adopted that part of the report which it is now moved shall be stricken out of the report of the Committee.

Mr. CONKLING. Not at all, not at all. We have been very careful about that.

Mr. CONGER. *That part* of the report; and, therefore, the only way to reach it is on a motion to reconsider.

Mr. CONKLING. Will the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Conger] allow me a moment?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that the resolution agreed to unanimously by the Convention expressly reserved the right of the gentleman from New York to make his motion.

Mr. CONKLING. Yes.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is in considerable doubt, but it is a convenient rule, and the Chair will adopt the suggestion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling], no other member of the Convention raising a question, and will consider the question in order.

Mr. CONGER. I call for a statement of the motion which the Convention just adopted by a unanimous vote. I ask that the Clerk may read that, to see whether my statement of the proposition which was submitted in writing does not include the question of the delegates-at-large.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Michigan perhaps did not observe that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] made the motion before this was agreed to, and suggested that, if it was convenient, he would withhold the motion until this matter was considered and the sense of the Convention taken upon it. The Chair stated the question in this mode: "Will the Convention adopt the proposition, reserving the right of the gentleman from New York to make his motion afterwards?"

Mr. CESSNA. In order that there may be no further dispute on the subject, I move the adoption of the first division of the report, and to that motion the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] can offer his amendment in order.

Mr. CONKLING. The gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] has offered his motion. It has been entertained, ruled in order, and it is pending. Let us vote on that, and have one thing at a time.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the proposition of the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Sharpe,] to strike out from the report so much as relates to the delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois. Is that a correct statement of the motion? Is the Convention ready for the question?

**Mr. HAYMOND**, of California. *Mr. President*: As a member of the Committee on Credentials, I desire to state to the Convention the position in which, in my judgment, if this motion should pass, the delegates from Illinois will be left. Their seats will stand contested, and no judgment will have been passed upon them. ["Oh, No."] Gentlemen say "Oh, no," but I say "Oh, yes." There was presented to this Convention a document signed by distinguished citizens of this State challenging the right of those gentlemen to a seat upon this floor. One ground of challenge was the very best ground that can possibly be made, and but one judgment could be entered upon it if it had been proved. It was said by these citizens of Illinois that there never was a legal convention assembled at the city of Springfield. It was said that there was never any legal election of the four delegates-at-large, for the reason that they never received a majority of all the votes of all the delegates legally elected to the State convention.

**Mr. JONES**, of Illinois. Was it not said by the Jews that Jesus Christ was not our Savior?

**Mr. HAYMOND**. Allow me to suggest to the gentleman that as distinguished a citizen of Illinois as Robert G. Ingersoll may be consulted on that question.

It was argued that by reason of collusion and the disfranchisement of ten Republican districts of this State, these gentlemen ought not to have seats in this Convention. Now, gentlemen say, there was no proof of that. If that be true, there need be no fault found with this Committee; and in an experience upon the Western coast quite as extensive as that of my beloved friend from Illinois [Mr. Logan]—and I am his friend, though he may not know me—I had never before known a party to a suit object to an unanimous verdict in his own favor. Now, then, that contest came before this Committee through the regular channel. The citizens of Illinois had a right to be heard, as any citizen voting the Republican ticket has a right to be heard, in this Convention. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Logan] says that he was not notified of that contest. Well, in regard to that, I will say that if he had no notice of the contest he was not properly treated, but we did not intend to make that mistake. There were attorneys eminent in this State—some of the first men of the country—that pretended to appear there in his defense.

**Mr. LOGAN**. Will the gentleman say that any attorney appeared there for me, or in any question in reference to my seat?

**The PRESIDENT**. Does the gentleman from California yield to the gentleman from Illinois?

**Mr. HAYMOND**. Certainly, sir.

**Mr. LOGAN**. I have no knowledge of it, and never heard of it before.

**Mr. HAYMOND**. Now, an attorney may appear without authority

**Mr. LOGAN**. Oh, yes.

**Mr. HAYMOND**. And I understand that whilst the gentleman from Illinois is distinguished as a soldier and as a statesman, he also has a deserved reputation as a lawyer. Whenever an attorney regularly admitted appears at the bar of any court of justice in this State, the court never asks or questions his authority. The Committee did not ask whether or not he was employed by the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. Logan,] but I will say, whether he was or not, that that gentleman might well be pleased at the efforts that he made there in his behalf.

Why, my venerable friend from Pennsylvania, [Mr. Cessna,] and several others of the members of that Committee, whom we all delight to love and honor, sat there until two or three o'clock in the morning—and those gentlemen have not been awake at that hour for the last ten or fifteen years, I am informed, [Laughter,]—kept there by the eloquence of the gentlemen who were pleading the cause of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Logan] against the charges which had been made by parties.

I will say to the gentleman that I do not think it strange that he should have some feeling in this matter, nor do I think it strange that he should misapprehend the situation here. He said in the beginning that, by the action of this Committee, the State of Illinois was attacked. The Senator of late has been too apt to confound himself with the State of Illinois. Mr. President, that was the precise point presented to this Convention and to the Committee on Credentials,—whether it was the State of Illinois that held this convention, or whether it was John A. Logan.

Now, Mr. President, I, for one, have no part in this contest in Illinois. I think the times are too portentous for Republicans to be fighting Republicans. When the knightly lance of the brave and gallant Logan, of Illinois, is again laid in rest, I want to see every Republican of Illinois at his back, honoring him in the future as he has deserved to be honored in the past.

And while some members upon that Committee did not doubt his right to a seat here, and might have questioned some of his actions, no man dare impugn the motives or the honor of that gentleman. Nor was there a word said to that Committee by a member of it, but what himself or his family might have heard with pleasure.

Now, then, suppose you strike out this part of the report of this Committee, in what situation does the gentleman and the other representatives-at-large from Illinois stand? They stand in this position: That there is a contest here, undetermined, and they would have, under the usages adopted at Springfield, itself, no right to a seat upon this floor. We have the high authority of the gentleman himself, that delegates whose seats are contested should be sent up to the gallery until that contest has been determined; and the rule might be insisted upon here, in the feeling that now exists.

I ask members of the Convention what objection can any man have to an authoritative declaration on the part of this Convention that this contest was not well founded? That is all there is here; and if you strike out this part of the report of the Committee and adopt no resolution determining that contest, I claim that neither one of the four delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois would be entitled to vote upon this floor.

Mr. LOGAN. *Mr. President.* I have but a word to say. It does not wound my feelings at all to receive the shafts of the gentleman from the golden shores of California [Mr. Haymond.] There is no assault, sir, by inuendo that he can make upon me, that he has picked up in the streets of Chicago, in the slums and sloughs, that will affect me in the slightest. He drops a little inuendo, small as a mustard seed, yet in his mind to have a magnificent growth, perhaps, in the future, that I was in the habit of confounding the State of Illinois with myself. Oh, what an eloquent thought that, sir! What a dignified expression from a great and talented man from the far West? How magnificent and grand that will sound in some little penny-whistle newspaper!

Why, sir, there are men who have not the power to slay their enemies except by traducing them; men whose only manner of measuring blades with other men is by filling the columns of newspapers with that kind of slang that can be found in the lowest pitfalls that are found in the back alleys of the darkest and most benighted cities of the world. I magnify myself!—and I confound myself with Illinois! Sir, I am one of the sprouts of the soil of Illinois. I am confounded with Illinois in all that there is of me, and all that there ever will be. I am not much, but I am an Illinoisan, and Illinois made me what I am. There is one thing that I am; I am too much of a gentleman to deal in low, vulgar slang against my fellows. Now, Mr. President, having said this much, I will say finally, that so far as the position of the four delegates from the State of Illinois at large is concerned, if the amendment of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] shall be adopted, we will take care of our own rights. We entered this Convention with credentials, like every other delegate. We sit on this floor by virtue of the credentials of a Convention of the Republicans of the State of Illinois, called in the usual legal and proper way, and conducted as all other conventions are conducted. I say to the gentleman from California [Mr. Haymond] that he had better inform himself as to my course of conduct before he attempts to criticise it again. When he asserts before this Convention that by any action of mine whatever, any man was placed in the galleries or anywhere else, he asserts that which has no foundation in fact. The basis of that statement of his, sir, was an agreement of the State central committee of the State of Illinois—agreed to by every man—some of whom have signed these papers making these contests. That was a matter I had nothing to do with, and knew nothing about. So I say, in reference to every statement or insinuation, so far as I am concerned, either in that convention or out of it, as to my having ever done an act of impropriety, or used force or power, or terrorized any man in or out of a convention—that it is not true. That convention was assembled in the city of Springfield, peaceably and quietly, under the call of the State central committee calling the delegates there; they assembled; there was a contest there of delegations; I was on no committee, and had nothing to do with it. They had two days before the committee, and had their cases heard; reports were made by the committee, and the report was adopted by a large majority of that convention, and both parties were satisfied with what was done. Not only that, sir; at the conclusion of that convention one of the very delegates, Gen. Kieffner, who appeared before that committee as a contestant, introduced a resolution complimenting the chairman of that convention, Gen. Green B. Raum, on the fairness and the impartial manner in which all its proceedings were carried on. Sir, that resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote, Gen. Kieffner offering it, every one of these contesting delegates here who was a delegate there voting for it. Now, sir, I do not get up here to defend any action, or the action of any man; but these insinuations, these innuendoes, and these charges of unfairness are dug up out of the bitterness and wretchedness of the opposition against a majority whom they can not control. It is not the first time I have contended with these forces in this state. They have been on my track for ten years, and I have always beaten them, and that is what is the matter. My crime in the State of Illinois is this: That I live in the midst of the people, and the people have stood by me. My crime is, that certain newspapers can not write me down, can not stamp me out, can not destroy my

Republicanism, can not drive me out of the party. My crime is, that I defy men who undertake to assail me, and am ready to meet them anywhere. My crime is, sir, that I will not bend to the lash of certain men in this State. It is because I am a freeman, and, sir, because in that freedom of an American citizen I express myself. I have opinions, and I give utterance to them myself. I govern my own action. I never deviate from the line, sir. When the Republican party names a ticket I never scratch it. There are no men who can assail me to-day, who are not—nine-tenths of them—bolters and ticket-scratchers in the party. That is the reason I am assailed—because I am a steadfast, “stalwart” Republican, and never scratched a ticket.

Mr. HAYMOND. *Mr. President:* This Convention has heard Mr. Logan, and it will hear me. I made no attack upon the gentleman from Illinois. I took the part of no enemy of his. I said no word that he could find fault with. If I repeated what comes through the “slums” of Chicago, I was ignorant of it. I know not what voice their mouths give. The gentleman may know, but he shall not transfer his light to me. He comes here and puts words in my mouth that I never uttered. He opened this fight himself, upon the floor of this Convention, by an attack upon a Committee which had treated him more than fairly. And I say now, that if Gen. Logan understood me to make an attack upon him, I do not need to convince this audience upon that subject. I want to say to him that in the excitement that he does give way to—but sometimes mistakes himself—he has entirely misunderstood me. I cannot conceive how he could have misunderstood me but for that fact. I said that this Convention had referred to the Committee on Credentials a paper signed by citizens of Illinois as distinguished almost as the gentleman himself. He stands up here and raises a question with me as to a matter that I do not know anything about, and only care about because it reflects upon the gentleman. Let him take issue with these men and fight it out at home. I propose to fight the battle of neither one side nor the other. Neither the gentleman from Illinois, nor any other man, let him be decorated with military or civic decorations, shall stand in this Convention and put words in my mouth which he knows I never uttered. The gentleman knows that the furthest thing from my heart was to make any assault upon him. Everything I said was in his favor, and when I spoke about his confounding himself with the State of Illinois, it was not my utterance, but a quotation from the charges presented to this Convention. But the gentleman has almost convinced me that his enemies, upon that point, were right. He says he “sprouted” in Illinois. I believe they call this the ‘Sucker State.’ But the sprout was a noble, and a good one, and a strong one, and I would not see the tree harmed in the least. But sometimes from a single sprout has come a tree that overshadows a great extent of land; sometimes from humble boyhood comes up that man whose power and ambition may destroy a whole State. These were the suggestions that were made to us, and I was only telling the gentleman that we had rendered a verdict in his favor; and if he feels that the verdict was unjust, and that he ought to appeal, why, in God’s name, let him take an appeal.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. I move that all further debate on this subject be limited to one minute.

Several DELEGATES. “Question.”



The PRESIDENT. The Chair will put the question, if there is no objection, on the general proposition of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe], now reduced to writing, as follows:

"To strike out from the majority report so much thereof as implies a contest of the seats of the delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois."

[After putting the motion:] The "ayes" seem to have it.

A DELEGATE. I call for a division.

The PRESIDENT. If the vote is doubted the Chair will be constrained to call the roll. Does anybody doubt the vote?

Many DELEGATES. "No."

The PRESIDENT. The doubt is withdrawn. The ayes have it.

So the motion was agreed to.

#### UNANIMOUS PORTION OF REPORT.

The PRESIDENT. The Convention has now before it for consideration so much of the report as to which the Committee is unanimous.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. I move its adoption.

The motion was agreed to, and so much of the report as had been unanimously presented by the Committee, was adopted.

Mr. CESSNA. I now move to reconsider and lay on the table.

The PRESIDENT. There is no such motion in a Convention. The next matter for the consideration of the Convention is so much of the report as relates to the State of Alabama.

Mr. CONKLING. Will the Chair allow me to inquire what it was on which the Convention voted a moment ago? We were utterly unable to hear.

The PRESIDENT. The first proposition, embracing so much of the report—

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is answering the question of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling], and will recognize the gentleman from Ohio after he has given his answer. The first proposition—the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna]—was that the report be divided. The proposition was to divide the report into six different parts; the first to embrace so much as to which the Committee is unanimous, and that has been agreed to by the last vote of the Convention, the matter which related to the delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois having first been stricken out. Now the question comes up on so much of the report as relates to the State of Alabama.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. What I desired to call the attention of the Chair to was this: That the last two motions were disposed of at some time after they were made. *How* they were disposed of, and just *when*, is a matter of great doubt to a large part of the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. What motions?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. One touching the division which was called for on the motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe]. Nobody behind the New York delegation could hear. We did not know when the motion was put or how it was disposed of, and do not know now; and we desire that when these questions are put we

may know what they are, and then that they may not be disposed of until we have an opportunity to vote understandingly upon them. The last two motions, as I state, Mr. President, we were utterly unable to hear. When the division was called for upon the motion presented by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] touching the purging, so to speak, of our record, I speak advisedly when I say that no gentleman on this line of seats knew how it was disposed of, or heard the call.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair stated the question, and was of opinion that the ayes very clearly had it. The Chair announced that the ayes *seemed* to have it, and paused upon the announcement. Thereupon a division was requested. The Chair stated that he would order a call of the Convention. Thereupon the call for a division was withdrawn.

Several DELEGATES. "No, no."

The PRESIDENT. The Chair inquired whether the call was withdrawn, and so stated, and stated that the ayes had it. It is in the power of any gentleman in the Convention who considers that injustice has been done him by his inability to hear the proceedings now to move to reconsider that vote.

Several DELEGATES. Oh, no.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I do not complain of the Chair, but I am only calling attention to the fact that we were not advised as to the disposition that was made of it, and being parties to the proceeding, we desired to know what it was. We did not vote on it, because we did not know when the proposition was submitted. That is all. We keep our ears open, but we cannot hear that which is beyond our hearing. We do not object beyond this. If the proposition was withdrawn or voted down we were not advised of it.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will be aware that the task of keeping order in a Convention like this, before an audience like this, and of ascertaining whether every matter stated from the Chair is heard by every member, is an exceedingly difficult one, and the control which must govern this Convention must, in the end, be its self-control, and not the control of any gentleman placed in the chair. Does the gentleman demand that the question be again stated, on the ground that it was not understood by the Convention?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. No; I am satisfied if the Convention is satisfied. I only want to say that I am opposed to expunging that from the record which properly belongs in it, and I desired to be heard only by my vote. We desired to vote on that proposition. I will not demand a division; but will withdraw the request, as far as I am concerned.

#### THE ALABAMA CONTEST.

The PRESIDENT. The question before the Convention is so much of the report as relates to the State of Alabama.

Mr. CLAYTON, of Arkansas. I move to strike out the names of the contesting, and insert those of the sitting, members.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Arkansas moves to strike out so much of the report as affirms in the contestants a title to seats in this Convention from the State of Alabama, and insert the names of the sitting members.

Mr. CLAYTON. I will modify my motion and move to insert the minority report in this case, instead of that of the majority.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Arkansas withdraws his motion, and substitutes therefor a motion to substitute for so much

of the report of the majority as relates to the State of Alabama, so much of the report of the minority as relates to that State.

Mr. BRUCE, of Mississippi. [The hour being 4.10 p. m.] I move that this Convention take a recess until seven o'clock this evening.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Mississippi moves that this Convention now take a recess until seven o'clock this evening. Is the Convention ready for the question? [After taking the vote:] The noes seem to have it.

A DELEGATE. I call for a division.

The PRESIDENT. A division is called for. The Convention is so nearly divided that the Chair, in his discretion, will order the division to be taken by calling the roll.

Mr. CONKLING. May I make a suggestion by the way of saving time? I suggest to the Chair that if he would once more take the question *viva voce* it would probably be decided one way or the other, so that the Chair could determine the result, and that would save a long time.

The PRESIDENT. If it is satisfactory, the Chair will put the question of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Bruce] again.

Mr. BRUCE. I desire to say that I do not wish a call of States. I made that motion at the suggestion of gentlemen around me, and I am quite sure, sir, that if the vote is taken without a call of States, and the Chair will decide as he thinks proper, it will be perfectly satisfactory.

The PRESIDENT. The Convention will give its attention. It is moved by the gentleman from Mississippi, [Mr. Bruce,] that the Convention now take a recess till seven o'clock this evening.

The motion was agreed to.

So the Convention, at four o'clock and twenty minutes, p. m., took a recess until seven o'clock this evening.

#### AFTER RECESS:

The PRESIDENT. [The hour being 7, p. m.] The hour to which the Convention adjourned has arrived.

#### ADMISSION OF LOUISIANA DELEGATION.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. *Mr. President:* The Convention having adopted that part of the report of the Committee on Credentials, which admits the delegation from Louisiana, and that delegation not yet having had seats in this Convention, I move that the delegates admitted be now notified that they can have seats on the floor of the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The motion is unnecessary.

Mr. CLAYTON, of Arkansas. Is there not a motion before the Convention, Mr. President?

Mr. CONGER. The delegation have not yet been admitted to the floor of the Convention. I wish notice might be given to them in some way, that they may be present here.

The PRESIDENT. The delegation from Louisiana are entitled to seats in the Convention as of right. Seats will be assigned them by the Sergeant-at-arms accordingly. The pending question is on the adoption of so much of the report as relates to the State of Alabama.

THE ALABAMA CASE.

Mr. HARRISON, of Indiana. I think it highly important that before entering upon the discussion of this question the Convention fix some limitation of time for its consideration. The delegation for which I have the honor to speak, and I think I may extend the remark to other delegations sitting near us, are becoming extremely impatient at these unnecessary delays. I believe the majority of this Convention are disposed to proceed to business, and, for the purpose of bringing this matter definitely before the Convention, I move, sir, that one hour be allotted to the consideration of this question of the contest from the State of Alabama.

A DELEGATE. I second that motion.

Other DELEGATES. Both sides? or each side?

THE DELEGATE. Half an hour each side.

Mr. HARRISON. It is suggested around me, sir, that one-half hour is sufficient, and with the view of testing the sense of the Convention I will modify my motion, and move that one-half hour be given to it; and that at the end of that time the Convention proceed to vote upon the report.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state the question. The gentleman from Indiana moves that one-half hour be allotted to the consideration of the question relating to the State of Alabama, and that at the end of that time the Convention proceed to vote upon the question.

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. I rose for the purpose originally of amending the motion of the gentleman from Indiana, reducing the time to half an hour. I now rise for the purpose of seconding that motion. We of California, representing the most distant constituency of the country, are becoming exceedingly impatient at these delays; and, Mr. President, we are becoming suspicious that they are for a purpose.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. *Mr. President:* I shall vote with great pleasure for a resolution which will enable us at the earliest moment to proceed to and finish the real business of the Convention, and I agree to all that has been said by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Harrison]. I ask his attention, and I ask him to agree with me in a word I wish to say about his resolution. The gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. Harrison,] and the whole Convention, will see that a resolution in the terms proposed will not accomplish the purpose that its mover has in view, because he wants, as we all want, a fair opportunity given to both sides. The honorable gentleman will see that if we limit debate to half an hour, if I obtain the floor, or if my honorable friend obtains the floor, either of us may occupy the entire time. Therefore, Mr. President, I venture to suggest, that the gentleman from Indiana prescribe so much time for one side, and so much time for the other, and let the time be equal.

Mr. HARRISON. The suggestion of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] meets my entire approval. I was simply providing a limit of time for the whole discussion, and I thought that would, of course, be equally divided by the sides that were to discuss it.

Mr. CONKLING. That would be very uncertain. If my honorable friend will hear me a moment, I know, and he knows better than I—

Mr. HARRISON. [Interposing.] He knows nothing better than the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CONKLING. Oh, yes, Mr. President. Whenever my honorable friend from Indiana or I speak, we have two reasons for continuing. In the first place, we like to listen to a sensible man. [Laughter.] In the next place, we are not aware, as we speak, how rapidly time may fly; and some member of the Convention, with the utmost fairness of disposition, having the floor, may speak much longer than he is aware of, and thus abridge the right of the other side. I ask the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Harrison] to so modify his resolution as to prescribe a certain number of minutes, and I suggest to him, say twenty minutes a side—or thirty minutes.

Mr. HARRISON. I accept the suggestion of the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Conkling] and with the consent of my seconder, will so modify the motion as that forty minutes shall be allotted for the consideration of this question, which shall be divided—twenty minutes to the contestants, and twenty minutes to the sitting delegates.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Harrison] moves that forty minutes be allotted for the consideration of the Alabama case, of which twenty minutes be allotted to the contestants and twenty minutes to the sitting members.

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President—*

Mr. CONKLING. I ask the gentleman to yield to me an instant only. It is suggested by gentlemen around me that, although forty minutes may be enough in the Alabama case, the gentlemen interested in other cases—for example, the Illinois case—may want a longer or a shorter time, and therefore, I feel at liberty, as one member of the Convention, to assume that this will not be taken as a precedent for the precise number of moments which may be asked for in another case.

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President.* As a member of the delegation from Alabama, and being acquainted with the facts which will be presented to the Convention, I do not think that twenty minutes on each side will be sufficient. I appeal to the gentleman [Mr. Harrison] who makes the motion to adhere to the original motion, and allow half an hour on each side.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Indiana modify his motion?

Mr. HARRISON. I think not. It is known to the Convention that we have already listened, in the report of the minority of the Committee on Credentials to an argument in favor of the sitting delegates, and in the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials to an argument in favor of those to be admitted by the report. But in addition to that, sir, there has been generally circulated among the delegates a printed argument, I think, on each side—certainly one in favor of the sitting delegates. The facts in the case are simple, the precedents must be few, and it certainly is possible for representatives of either side of this question to possess the Convention of every fact essential to a right decision on it within that time.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Harrison] state his motion again?

Mr. HARRISON. The motion was—

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will inform the gentleman from Indiana that he is not sure what is meant by the phrase “be allowed to the contestants,”—whether it is intended to give the contestants the right to be heard in their own persons. It is important that the Convention should see that point before they vote. The gentleman will be good enough, perhaps, to reduce his motion to writing.

Mr. HARRISON. I mean by the motion, that time should be allowed to the contestants, or any one whom they may choose to speak for them, and that the time allowed to the sitting delegates might be occupied by any one or more of them, or by any person they might choose to speak for them. It was not intended to limit the argument personally to the contestants or the sitting delegates.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Indiana reduce his motion to writing? If the gentleman will come to the platform the short-hand writer will take it down for him at once.

Mr. CONKLING. While the gentleman is reducing to writing his resolution it will occupy no time for me to suggest to him on his way to the Chair,—I suggest to the gentleman as a matter of parliamentary law and usage, that the report in the Alabama case, as I understand it, is divisible. There is a manifest distinction between these three cases,—the three seats involved,—and if it be, as I think it is, the right of any member of the Convention to demand a division of the question, I suggest to my honorable friend that his resolution should provide not only to guard against the suggestion made by the Chair, because surely we do not propose to have those not members of the Convention discuss these questions; and that, in addition, it should provide whether this debate is to cover all cases in the Alabama report or only one at a time. There being one of these cases, as the honorable gentleman has not failed to observe, resting on a footing quite distinct, as I understand it, from the other two.

#### TICKETS.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will make an announcement from the National Committee.

The SECRETARY. I am instructed by the National Committee to say that tickets dated June 4, will be good for Saturday should there be a session of the Convention on that day.

#### THE ALABAMA CASE.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. Harrison,] has reduced his resolution to writing. It will be read.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Convention do now proceed to the consideration and determination of so much of the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials as relates to the contested seats from the State of Alabama, and that twenty minutes time be allotted to those desiring to speak in support of the report of the majority of said Committee, and the same time to those desiring to oppose the adoption of said majority report, and that at the expiration of said time the debate close and the Convention proceed immediately to vote upon the question.

Mr. ALEXANDER, of Alabama. I would like to ask that this resolution be divided. The case of the Fourth district and that of the Seventh are entirely different.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair does not understand that the division of the question, so far as the vote of the Convention is concerned, is affected one way or the other by this resolve.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. I am not going to make a speech, but I want to ask a parliamentary question. If this resolution is adopted, I desire to inquire from the Chair whether or not the vote

upon the amendment of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Clayton] will still be pending? Is the first question to strike out and insert? If so, then I am content.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair so understands.

The resolution was adopted.

The PRESIDENT. The question now is upon the substitution of so much of the minority report as relates to the contested seats from the State of Alabama, for so much of the report of the majority of the Committee as relates to those seats.

Mr. CONGER. I desire to occupy the attention of the Convention but for five minutes in favor of the report, stating its contents, its objects, and the result of the amendment offered by the gentleman who has made the motion.

A DELEGATE. Which report, the majority or minority?

Mr. CONGER. The majority report. The majority, in the first of these cases, recommend that J. T. Rapier is entitled to a seat in this Convention. At some time the report of the Committee may be read. The Convention will bear in mind in this case, that Mr. Rapier was duly elected by the delegates of his district at a State convention and duly recognized, but that, when that convention adjourned, a printed letter is put in evidence to show that the president was to refuse the credentials to Mr. Rapier, unless he would pledge himself that he would vote for Gen. Grant. That is all of it, in a nut shell. In the other case, the majority of the Committee recommend that Willard Warner and William H. Smith be admitted as delegates in place of Arthur Bingham and R. A. Mosely, now present in the Convention. Both cases turn upon the same question. Both were elected by delegates in a separate convention, for their respective districts; reported in both these cases to the convention of the State. Both sets were ratified by that convention, and to both the credentials were refused by the chairman of the State convention, under instructions of the convention, because in both cases these delegates, the colored man and the white man refused to be guided by the convention of that State in their judgment and choice as free delegates to this Convention. This is the opening case, full, fair and free, for this Convention to determine, whether, in a State where the precedent had been continuous for that mode of electing delegates by separate conventions of district delegates to a State convention, it is now to be respected,—whether the district delegation system is the choice of all the Republicans of the United States, where it has been followed heretofore. That is all I desire to say, Mr. President; and I await with impatience for the vote of this Convention upon a principle upon which, in my solemn judgment, rests the contingency of the existence of a Republican party in the United States.

Mr. CLAYTON. *Mr. President:* I have concluded that the delegates from the State of Alabama perhaps know more about this case than I do, although I think I understand it. I therefore yield the allotted time to Mr. Turner, a delegate from Alabama.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* I desire to express, briefly, the views of the Alabama delegation upon this question. It is not true that any district convention has been held in the State of Alabama to send delegates to this Convention. I hold in my hand the only call which has been issued in the State of Alabama for a convention to send delegates to this Convention. I will read it to you, in order that you may understand what conven-

tion it was that was intrusted by the Republicans of the State of Alabama with the duty of sending delegates to this Convention. I ask that this call may be read by the Clerk.

The PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

"CALL FOR A REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION. In pursuance of a resolution adopted by the Republican Executive Committee, held at Montgomery, Ala., March 10, 1880, a State convention is hereby called to meet in Selma, May 20, 1880, for the purpose of selecting delegates to the Chicago Convention June 2, 1880. The following basis of representation was agreed upon: Autauga, 8 delegates; Baldwin, 2; Barbour, —."

Mr. GEO. TURNER. That is sufficient, Mr. Clerk. The balance of that call, gentlemen, simply relates to the apportionment of delegates to the State convention. You will see from the reading of this call that it provides for a State convention to send delegates to the National Convention. And no gentleman here, either representing these contestants, or the contestants themselves, will come before this Convention and claim that any other body ever assembled within the State of Alabama, for the purpose of performing this duty, except the Republican State convention.

This convention assembled. It made its organization. It completed the temporary business of the convention, and then it proceeded to select the delegates to this convention. And what was the method adopted? It was a resolution authorizing the delegates in attendance upon this State convention to retire by districts, and—now mark the language—"to retire by districts and report the names of proper persons to be selected as delegates."

The delegates retired under that resolution, and they brought in a list of names. I took the precaution to preserve one of the reports which was made by one of those district officers to the State convention.

What was the report? Not that the districts had selected delegates to this Convention; but it was a report to the Convention that the district had *nominated* Mr. Rapier and the other gentlemen for delegates to this Convention. If there had been any idea upon the part of these district delegates that, by retiring into a little room, they had constituted themselves a district convention—if there had been any idea upon their part that the selection which they made then and there constituted a selection in the sense of an election independent of the State convention—the language of their report would not have been "that we *nominate* these gentlemen," but that "we *elect* them as delegates to Chicago."

Mr. HILL, of Mississippi. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. GEO. TURNER. Certainly.

Mr. HILL. I want to know what is the date of that call you have got there? Was it after the issuance of the National call for the National Convention, or was it before?

Mr. GEO. TURNER. It is dated March 13, 1880.

Mr. HILL. That was after the call for the National Convention?

Mr. GEO. TURNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HILL. Yes; I thought so. That was what I wanted to know.

Mr. GEO. TURNER. If I understand the implication of that question, it is that the National Committee having called for the election



of delegates from the district, it is improper for the State to proceed and elect them itself. I take it that when you attack a man's title you have got to show a better title. When it is proposed to attack the title of the sitting members from Alabama upon this floor, who have been elected by an accredited and by a regular State convention; and I may add that it was the most representative Republican convention which has assembled in the State of Alabama since 1868. I say when it is proposed to attack their title to seats here a better title must be shown, and what is the title that these gentlemen have? It is a *nomination*, to the State convention, of these gentlemen, as delegates. They never were *elected* as delegates, as stated by the honorable Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, by a district convention or by any other convention. They were simply *nominated* to the State convention by a caucus of the district delegates, who did not at that time, and do not now, entertain the belief that what they did had any binding force unless it received the ratification of the State convention.

There is another point with reference to this contest, and the report of the minority makes it very plain. It is that this district caucus, under which Mr. Smith and Mr. Warner claim their title to seats in this body, did not, as a matter of fact, select them to be delegates to this Convention. I state it as a fact, and it was proven before the Committee on Credentials, that the vote in the district caucus stood a tie between the sitting members and Mr. Warner and Mr. Smith, and that that contest was decided then and there by one of the delegates casting the vote of an absent member of the convention, which vote he had no authority to cast. And, to prove that, I propose to read you a letter from that absent delegate. Now, mind you, the vote stood seven and seven in the district caucus, for the election of these gentlemen, and their selection to be recommended to the convention by the casting of the vote of this absent delegate. I propose to have his letter read, in order that you may see how he was misrepresented in that convention.

The Secretary read as follows:

WEDOWEE, ALA., May 27, 1880.

R. A. MOSELY, *Talladega, Ala.:*

Dear Sir:—In your letter to me of the 22d ult., you stated as fact that, in the district caucus at Selma, in the Seventh district, to select the names of two men as delegates to Chicago, to be recommended to the convention, the vote stood seven for Mr. Bingham and Mr. Mosely and seven for Gov. Smith and Mr. Warner. Until then, Gov. Smith never pretended to cast my [Hafin's] vote in the convention. He cast it in the district caucus, giving himself and Warner one majority. I have this to say, that Gov. Smith was notified that, at the Republican convention held in Randolph county, we were instructed to use our best efforts to secure a delegation favorable to the nomination of U. S. Grant at Chicago for President. Mr. Smith had no right to abuse the trust placed in us as such delegates. He knows full well that I would not have voted for him and Warner; and, on the contrary, if he [Smith] was not willing to carry out in good faith the expressed will of the convention, he ought not to have taken any part in said convention. If his [Smith's] feelings were such toward any other aspirant as to prevent his carrying out the expressed will of his constituency in solemn convention, then he ought to have declined to act. It was wrong on the part of Gov.

Smith to misrepresent me, and still greater the wrong if he [Smith] and Warner should succeed in procuring seats in the National Convention at Chicago. I maintain and insist, that the wrongful and fraudulent manner in which Smith and Warner succeeded in getting into the district caucus, and then refusing to pledge for Grant at Chicago, of itself is enough to prevent their being allowed seats in said Convention. Bingham and Mosely are the legally-chosen delegates to seats in the Convention at Chicago. All of which is most respectfully submitted.

ROBERT S. HEFLIN.

Mr. GEO. TURNER. I simply say, with reference to that letter, that Mr. Heflin, the writer of it, is a former member of Congress, and an old resident of the State of Alabama, and that his word is entitled to the utmost credit; and that when he tells you that Mr. Smith was not authorized to cast his vote in that caucus, and that he [Heflin] would not have voted for Smith and Warner if he had been present, he tells you the exact and literal fact. Now, if you gentlemen who clamor for district representation would rely upon this letter which has been read, it shows that, whatever may be the position of this Convention on district representation and State representation, these gentlemen have no claim to admission into this Convention upon either ground. Mr. President, I solemnly assure you again, in closing, that there was no idea in the State convention of Alabama, or on the part of any of its members, or in any of the caucuses which retired to select these names to be reported to the State convention, that they constituted a district convention which was above and independent of the State convention.

There are other gentlemen in the Convention who desire to speak upon this question. I will, therefore, give way.

Mr. TRACY, of New York. As a delegate from the State of New York, and a member of the Committee on Credentials, I desire to call the attention of the Convention to the question involved. As a member of the National Convention, I object to occupying its time day after day in reconsidering and attempting to resettle questions that belong to the different States, and that should have been heard in their respective State conventions and determined by them. The question of the two delegates, Smith and Warner, from one of the Alabama districts, presents this question in the most forcible light in which it can be presented to any deliberative body. There was not only a question involved there whether the State convention had the right to choose the delegates to this Convention from the respective Congressional districts, on the nomination of those delegates from the respective Congressional districts, but it was a question whether that State convention, on a dispute arising who of four gentlemen had been nominated by their district caucus, should receive the election of the State convention. Smith and Warner were elected, or nominated, there, as the evidence before the Committee shows, by most questionable means. The colleague of Mr. Smith—who had been instructed by him to use his influence in the convention for Gen. Grant—gave Mr. Smith his proxy, as his letter shows, with the expectation and understanding that that proxy was to be voted in accordance with the sentiments of the district. Mr. Smith, as the evidence shows, used that proxy to elect himself, and to misrepresent his district. The question submitted to the State convention of Alabama was whether, when there had been a tie on a caucus as between four gentlemen, the convention had a right to settle that question

representation, said he should go from Michigan because he was elected by his district.

Mr. PARSONS, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* I am a native of the State of Alabama, and I have the honor to represent her upon the floor of this Convention. Since the dark days of 1870, when to be a Republican in Alabama was to be shunned by the race to which I belong, I have followed the flag of the Republican party through ill and good report, through victory and defeat, and I am still a Republican. I am a Grant Republican, a Republican who believes that Gen. Grant should be the nominee of this Convention. I am one of the Republicans in Alabama who signed to abide by and support Gen. Grant in this Convention. I intended it then, and I intend now to do it.

But, Mr. President, when the Alabama State convention undertook to interfere with the districts of Alabama, I regarded that as an usurpation on the part of the State convention and then I tried to induce the State to allow the districts their rights in the convention; they refused to do it, and then I resisted the attempt to unseat the delegates of these two districts, and I say now that the convention had no right to do it. This smacks too much of Democracy—it smacks too much of the manner in which the Democratic party treat the Republicans at the elections in Alabama. They deny to us the right that has been recognized since 1868. Now, in the district conventions held in Selma, when the State convention was held, all the Republicans who were there gathered together, and every district held its own convention and reported its action to the State convention. That business was the main object to be obtained by that course, and the statement that Willard Warner and Gov. Smith of Alabama were not elected by the delegations from their districts by a majority is not true in fact. The very men who here occupy these seats admitted that they had been defeated in the district conventions. Now, then,—

THE PRESIDENT. The time allotted for debate on this subject has expired.

Mr. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President:* I wish to offer a resolution.

Mr. ALEXANDER, of Alabama. I will ask that the question be divided; that we first vote upon Mr. Rapier's case. I should like to have a division of the question between the Fourth and Seventh districts.

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Alabama demands a division of the question, and that the question be taken separately upon the Rapier case. The Chair is of opinion that the motion to strike out and insert, which is the pending motion, is indivisible as between the two cases, but that if that motion fails, then the majority report will come up for adoption, and will be divisible. If that motion succeeds, the minority report will come up for adoption, and is divisible. But, if the present motion be pressed, the first motion is indivisible.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. I move a substitute for the motions before the Convention. My substitute is, that Mr. Rapier be declared entitled to a seat in this Convention.

THE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to putting the question in that form?

Mr. METCALF, of Illinois. I object to that motion.

Mr. CONGER. I have a right to make a motion to substitute. I make the motion as a substitute for the two propositions before the

Convention—that Mr. Rapier be declared entitled to a seat in this Convention.

Mr. METCALF. My understanding, and I think the understanding of the Convention, is that we give twenty minutes to each side of this question, and were then to proceed to vote.

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. I rise, Mr. President, to explain why Florida must vote in favor of the minority report.

Mr. CONGER. At the request of the Chair I withdraw my motion, and let the Convention come to a direct vote on the whole subject.

The PRESIDENT. The motion is withdrawn. The question is upon the motion to strike out and substitute the minority report for the majority report.

Mr. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts—for what purpose does he rise?

Mr. BOUTWELL. I rise to move a substitute for the pending motion, which I will send to the Chair to be read.

The Secretary, Mr. Broadwell, read as follows:

*Resolved*, That all the cases of contested seats be decided by adopting the usage of each State as that usage has existed heretofore; and that in each State in which the uniform usage has been to elect delegates to the Republican National Convention by State convention, that usage shall be deemed binding; and the same shall be true in respect to delegates sent by Congressional district conventions in States where that has been the usage.

Mr. BOUTWELL. What I have to say will not take more than a minute.

Mr. CONGER. That violates the order of the Convention. I raise the point of order that the resolution presented by the gentleman from Massachusetts is not germane to the matter which the Convention has decided to hear first, and it cannot be entertained while the order of the Convention remains that the Alabama cases alone shall be decided.

The PRESIDENT. Debate upon this question is exhausted. The gentleman from Michigan raises the question of order, that during the time allotted by the Convention for taking the question upon the Alabama case, this resolution declaring a general principle is out of order. The Chair so rules.

Mr. BOUTWELL. I desire to give notice that I will again present the resolution and ask to be heard upon it.

Mr. HICKS. I rise to ask the Chair a question. Is it now in order, before the vote is taken upon the adoption of the substitute, namely: the minority report upon the Alabama case, for the delegation from any State to explain why it must cast its vote in a given direction.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks it is not in order.

On the motion to substitute the minority for the majority report, so far as it relates to the State of Alabama, a division was demanded, and the President ordered the roll of States to be called.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted: yeas, 306; nays, 449; as follows;—

<i>States.</i>	<i>No.</i> <i>Del.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>No.</i> <i>Del.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Alabama.....	20	17	8	New York.....	70	47	23
Arkansas.....	12	12	...	North Carolina.....	20	...	20
California.....	12	...	12	Ohio.....	44	...	44
Colorado.....	6	6	...	Oregon.....	6	...	6
Connecticut.....	12	...	12	Pennsylvania.....	58	35	23
Delaware.....	6	...	6	Rhode Island.....	8	...	8
Florida.....	8	8	...	South Carolina.....	14	9	5
Georgia.....	22	6	16	Tennessee.....	24	16	8
Illinois.....	42	42	...	Texas.....	16	9	7
Indiana.....	30	4	26	Vermont.....	10	4	6
Iowa.....	22	...	22	Virginia.....	22	12	10
Kansas.....	10	...	10	West Virginia.....	10	...	10
Kentucky.....	24	20	4	Wisconsin.....	20	1	19
Louisiana.....	16	8	8	Arizona.....	2	...	2
Maine.....	14	...	14	Dakota.....	2	1	1
Maryland.....	16	7	9	District of Columbia..	2	...	2
Massachusetts.....	26	2	23	Idaho.....	2	...	2
Michigan.....	22	1	21	Montana.....	2	...	2
Minnesota.....	10	2	8	New Mexico.....	2	...	2
Mississippi.....	16	7	9	Utah.....	2	...	2
Missouri.....	30	29	1	Washington.....	2	...	2
Nebraska.....	6	...	6	Wyoming.....	2	1	1
Nevada.....	6	...	6				
New Hampshire.....	10	...	10	Total.....	756	306	449
New Jersey.....	18	...	18				

So the motion to substitute was rejected.

The PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the adoption of the report of the majority.

The report of the majority was adopted.

During the vote:

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Alabama:

Mr. ALEXANDER, of Alabama. I rise to a question of order. I wish to ask if the delegates whose seats are in contest have the right to vote?

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman ask if the vote of the State of Alabama, which includes the votes of the sitting members whose seats are in contest, can be taken?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes.

The PRESIDENT. The Convention will give its attention. The question is raised that the vote reported from the State of Alabama includes the votes of the sitting members whose seats are in contest. The Chair is of opinion that upon this question those members are not at liberty to vote, but the Chair will reserve the determination of that question until the conclusion of the roll-call, in order that it may be dealt with by the Convention before the vote is finally announced. The Secretary will proceed.

At the conclusion of the roll-call, and before the announcement of the result:

The **PRESIDENT**. The Chair now inquires of the chairman of the delegation from Alabama whether the votes of the sitting members whose seats are contested, or are in issue, were reported by him as in the affirmative.

Mr. **TURNER**. I will state, Mr. President, that I have reported the whole vote of Alabama, having authority from the delegates who are here present to cast the vote, and being requested by the alternates of the sitting members so to do.

The **PRESIDENT**. The votes of the alternates are in question as well as the votes of the sitting members?

Mr. **TURNER**. No, sir.

The **PRESIDENT**. The vote then will stand as reported.

The vote was then announced as above recorded.

#### THE ILLINOIS CASE.

Mr. **QUARLES**, of Wisconsin. I ask leave to introduce a resolution at this time:

*Resolved*, That one hour be allotted for the presentation of the Illinois contest to the Convention, one-half of the time aforesaid to be allotted to the contestants, and one-half to the sitting members, and that the said contestants be permitted to appear upon the floor, either by one of their members or by some other representative, to present their case.

Mr. **BOUTWELL**. I move as a substitute for the resolution proposed by the gentleman from Wisconsin the resolution which, a few minutes since, I sent to the Chair, and which now is on the table of the Secretary.

The **PRESIDENT**. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves a substitute for the resolution offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin, which will be read for information.

The Secretary, Mr. **Clisbee**, read as follows:

*Resolved*, That all the cases of contested seats be decided by adopting the usage of each State as that usage has existed heretofore; and that in each State in which the uniform usage has been to elect delegates to the Republican National Convention by State convention, that usage shall be deemed binding; and the same shall be true in respect to delegates sent by Congressional district conventions in States where that has been the usage.

Mr. **BENSON**, of California. Mr. President—

The **PRESIDENT**. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. **BENSON**. To move to lay that on the table.

The **PRESIDENT**. The gentleman has not the floor for that purpose.

Mr. **BOUTWELL**. Mr. President: I know as well as any one can—

Mr. **CONGER**. I rise to a point of order.

The **PRESIDENT**. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. **CONGER**. The question before the Convention is the case of Illinois in the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials. The substitute relates to more than the case now before the Convention. It relates to all cases of all members of this Convention—even those which have already been decided. The point of order is that it is not germane, that if the resolution be adopted this Convention must send to some committee to report the facts upon which the Convention can act under the resolution.

The PRESIDENT. The point of order is not debatable, but the Chair will hear the gentleman from Massachusetts concerning the point of order, for information, with the leave of the Convention.

Mr. BOUTWELL. The resolution which I propose relates to the subject matter under consideration. Although it may be larger, it *includes* the subject matter of the contested seats from the State of Illinois. And if it includes something more, it is not an objection to my proposition that it does so include something more. The whole report is, or ought to be before this Convention, and the object of this proposition is to shorten the debate and close the controversy to enable us to go to the consideration of the other important matter for which the Convention is assembled. I do not myself see that there is any question of order connected with the matter of convenience which is suggested by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Conger.] I hope the Chair will sustain the resolution as being in order.

The PRESIDENT. The pending resolution is a resolution fixing the length of time for debate. The Chair is of the opinion that the amendment moved by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Boutwell] is out of order: First, because it is not germane to the pending resolution in regard to the length of time; and, second, because the Convention, having ordered that it should proceed to the disposition of a particular case, a resolution declaring a general principle, which makes no disposition of that particular case, but is applicable to many cases alike, is inconsistent with the order of the Convention.

Mr. BOUTWELL. *Mr. President:* Is the pending resolution debatable?

The PRESIDENT. The pending resolution is debatable, but the Chair rules the amendment out of order. The question is on the resolution to fix the time. The gentleman from Massachusetts has the floor.

Several DELEGATES. "Question."

Mr. BOUTWELL. *Mr. President:* I wish to say to the gentlemen of this Convention that I defer, as far as I can under the sense of duty which presses upon me at this moment, to what I have no doubt they feel to be their convenience. But the question is so important that we ought not to consult our convenience. I can understand that my presence here may be disagreeable to some; but I come from a constituency, I am a citizen of the country, I am a member of the Republican party. No cries of "question," and no suggestions of convenience as to what may be desired to be done to-day, or to-morrow, or next week, either will or can absolve me from a discharge of the duty for which I am sent here. So, while I defer to the judgment of the Convention, and hope never to say a word, or make a motion, or take any step which shall delay for an instant the consummation of the business for which we are sent here, I yet say that my own judgment, within the rules of the Convention, will guide me in my action. I have been too long in the public service, and know too well, and have too just a conception of my public duty to be awed into any formal submission by the dictates of anybody. I acknowledge each and every man here to be my equal, my peer, but I recognize no supremacy in any. Now, then, Mr. President and gentlemen (if the Chair will allow me to address myself more directly to the Convention), I know that this is an important day, an important moment in our proceedings, and a half hour additional, even though it be taken from sleep and at the

expense of health, may well be furnished to the cause of the country and the Constitution at a moment like this. I have heard the debate; I have listened to the reports and the observations that have been made in private touching the great question of the right of representation, or the mode of expressing the power of representation in the various States of this country; and I have yet to discover that the true issue has been represented, if I apprehend aright the questions which are before it. I dare say I may wander a little; possibly my good friend from Michigan may call me to order. No man will abide the decision of the Chair more immediately or more humbly than I shall.

If I may be allowed, I say further that the call for this Convention, if it be open to a different construction from that which has been put upon it by the States wherein there have been election by State convention, it still is open to the reasonable construction that State conventions have the power, under the call, to elect delegates by and through those conventions, without reference to the districts; and I call the attention of the Committee, both majority and minority, to the circumstance that they have this day, in the presence of this Convention, by their common judgment, and, finally, by the ratification of the Convention, closed this question, unless the Convention will follow the lead of the Committee. What have they said? That in Louisiana, a State convention, without reference to the districts, might elect delegates to this Convention—and my friend Gov. Warmoth and his delegation sit here by the judgment of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Conger] and his associates, and by the judgment of this Convention, without a district in the State of Louisiana having had one word to say about that election, as I understand it.

Mr. CONKLING. And every other State. All the rest of us are in the same boat.

Mr. BOUTWELL. Yes. Now, I have this to say: We have pledged ourselves, all but three, to abide by the decision of this Convention in the nomination of a candidate, but we have a mighty constituency behind us, who have taken no oath to observe the obligation that we have imposed upon ourselves. Will they obey, will they abide by, will they ratify what you will do, if they believe that a State, that States, that constituencies, that Republicans, by the mere power of numbers in this Convention, have ratified and determined that to be the law of the Convention which defies argument, despises reason, tramples logic under foot, and leaves no excuse for the conclusion except the possession of power. When this Committee have allowed Louisiana to come in here as a State, not recognizing the existence of districts as constituent, independent powers in the organization of that convention, I ask what they have to say to Illinois, to Kansas, to West Virginia, and to the other States where the district system does not exist? Now, I fear that New England delegates, living in a community where the district system has always existed, may suppose that because their plan is the approved plan with them, and because of usage and by habit, and upon judgment they believe that plan to be the better, will undertake in this Convention to impose that plan upon States and communities which have not voluntarily adopted it. If our call had declared that the State should choose their delegates, or the delegates should be chosen by districts,—and I ask you to mark how astute the report of the majority of the Committee was; I could not help imagining that it might have come from the pen of that distinguished citizen of this country, a cosmopolitan



in fame, who at the beginning of a lecture reversed that ancient maxim of a great English poet in reference to the quality of the power of the Supreme Being in regard to the creation of man. The peculiarity was that it declared that the call was for delegates from districts,—to be residents of districts,—but they avoided saying, what could not have been said with truth upon the basis of the National call, that they were to be elected by the districts. Mr. President, I am opposed, of course, to the limitation of time to thirty minutes upon this great question. Here is the State of Illinois; it certainly has rights here. Can they be properly considered? I could not present an argument—I have sketched something, of the nature of the questions involved—but I could not frame and deliver here an argument which would satisfy myself as to the duty devolved upon me, if I should undertake to instruct the Convention in the space of thirty minutes. But I have this to say, that the State of Illinois either is entitled to the thirty-eight representatives who sit here by the authority of the State convention which met at Springfield on the 19th of May last, or it is not entitled to any representation whatever, except the four delegates who come from the State at large. If the right of the twenty men whose seats are contested is vicious, and not to be supported here, then send home every delegate from the State of Illinois, except the four, if you would be consistent. But if you intend to disown, and disavow, and trample under foot the usage of a State like Illinois, like Kansas, and like Nebraska, you should have set an example by denying to Louisiana the right to come in when her delegation was contested. Having admitted them as representatives of a State through a State convention, without the intervention of districts, you cannot in good conscience; in good faith, in my judgment, nor in good policy, deny to Illinois, to West Virginia, and to Kansas the same right.

Mr. President; I have consumed so much time that it will not be in the heart of the Convention to deny to others that privilege which I have enjoyed, and for which I extend to the Convention my grateful acknowledgements.

Mr. CONGER. I did not make the point of order upon the gentleman from Massachusetts, and I feel rejoiced that I was not so indiscreet, because I think his argument a better one on my side than I could have made myself. But, sir, the gentleman should have heard the report of the majority of the Committee in the Louisiana case. It states distinctly that the claimants to seats here are appointees of two rival State conventions.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to remind gentlemen discussing this question that the question is upon the limitation of time. Of course that involves to some extent an explanation to the Convention of the character of the question which is to be debated. The Chair must leave that very much to discretion of gentlemen; but the general merits of the question are not in order on this question.

Mr. CONGER. The Chair is correct in that decision; and it is only upon the point of the merits of limiting time that I make the remark that I do. The case of Louisiana did not involve any question of delegations from districts whatever. All the cases where there was a difference between the majority and the minority, involved that great question of the right of district delegations here. There was not one in the Committee who opposed the report of the majority on the Louisiana case. Louisiana has traveled from the Gulf to the State of Massachusetts to find somebody to say something about it.

Now, sir, if more time be needed, or exacted, or demanded by the representatives of the two sides of the Illinois question, I for one, desire that it may be given. The report of the majority in this case cannot possibly be weakened by discussion by anybody. The Committee has thrown the burning light of careful inquiry upon it, and it stands before the majority of the Committee, as I hope it will before this Convention, clear and unquestioned by the Convention or by the world.

Mr. LOGAN. *Mr. President*: I desire to address myself for a few moments to the question that is presented in this resolution. I am aware of the impatience of this Convention; I am impatient myself. I am aware of the great desire that is felt by many of the delegates here to proceed to business. But, sir, is it not best for us to proceed in such a manner as that we will do full and complete justice to all?

By the terms of this resolution, thirty minutes are allowed to either side to present the points that arise in the case of Illinois, and in the resolution I see that the contestants (perhaps it applies to both) are authorized to select outside counsel if they desire to present their case. To that, sir, I have naught to say, except that the Convention composed of the number of gentlemen here present, it seems to me, ought to understand those things, especially as the Chairman has stated that he has turned the light upon it so that no man can mistake the true path in which he should travel. I can see the object that there is in this resolution. I do not care for it, sir. It makes no difference to us whom you employ or whom you bring to this discussion. It is a plain, simple proposition that all men should not only easily understand, but all just men should readily decide. Illinois asks you to allow her to be represented as she has been in every Republican convention from 1856 down to the present hour.

Men talk about district representation. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bateman] eloquently spoke of his State. But, his State has a mode of holding conventions differing from that of our State. In Ohio delegates are elected by district conventions, and State delegates-at-large by a State convention. That is their proceeding. It is not ours. The State of Maine elected her four delegates-at-large by her Legislature. Is not that true?

A DELEGATE from Maine. Yes.

Mr. LOGAN. Very well; that is different from ours. We do not seek to interfere with Maine, and Maine should not put her clutches on the rights of Illinois. Massachusetts elects her delegates by district conventions. We do not wish to disturb the rule in Massachusetts. Louisiana elects her delegates the same as we do in Illinois, by a State convention. You have not interfered with Louisiana, why interfere with Illinois?

In 1856 the first Republican convention in this State sent her delegates to the National Convention by a committee of one from each Congressional district, reporting to that Convention delegates, three from each district and six from the State-at-large, which were affirmed by that Convention, on the report of that committee. The committee in 1860 did the same. In 1864 the same. In 1868 the same. In 1872 the same. In 1876 the same. In 1880 I introduced a resolution in the State convention, a convention of delegates not sent to district conventions, but delegates appointed by the several counties of this State to represent the State in the State convention. For what purpose? For the purpose of nominating State officers; for the purpose of selecting delegates to the National Convention; for the purpose of selecting Electors for our Presidential election;

for the purpose of selecting a State committee. That convention was a State convention, not a district convention; it was composed of delegates from counties; they met together; a committee was appointed by the chairman, on a resolution, of one Republican from each Congressional district, to make a report to that convention. That committee reported two delegates from each Congressional district, and four delegates-at-large, Electors for the State, and they were voted on in that convention by counties, and adopted in that convention as all delegates ought to be in a State convention.

I only speak of this because the Chairman of the committee digressed from the proposition before this Convention to speak of his report and that which it does contain. I appeal to you that you give such time as may afford an opportunity of giving you a history of the State convention in the State of Illinois. All this noise, all this clamor about the convention in the State of Illinois, is the thought of an after hour, and for a purpose. Now, let me say to the Sherman men here, to the Blaine men, to the Edmunds men, if I may call them such,—I mean the men who represent these different candidates, gentlemen, if you can beat the old soldier, all right. For him I claim nothing that is not due to each and every citizen of this grand Republic; he asks nothing that he will not grant to others; we demand nothing for him that is not due to each and every other man, and each and every other candidate. We that support him do it because we think he is worthy, and you do the same for the candidates that you support. No one word has ever been lisped by the Grant men against any of your candidates. You have never heard a Grant man say he would bolt your nomination—not one—and you never will. If, as I said, you can beat him, all right; he will stay here till you do it. But do not beat the old soldier by tricks; do not, by chicanery, beat the soldier that led your armies and saved your country; do not, by such means, beat the man that has been recognized by every civilized nation of the earth as the grandest citizen the world knows to-day.

Illinois worships Republicanism at the same shrine that you do. Do not by tactics strike Illinois down to prevent the old soldier from having his share of votes. Sir, I do not know the fact, I will not state it as a fact, but I have been informed that when California delegates were elected they were refused their credentials until they complied with a certain condition. If that is not true I do not wish to state it. Is it true or not?

A DELEGATE. Yes, it is true.

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. *Mr. President:* The delegates from California feel a little embarrassment in rising to touch the great Achilles of Illinois. We are afraid that this great senatorial magnate will turn his sarcasm, and point his finger and crush us, so that we dare not reply. Mr. President, if you will allow me to answer the question what the delegation from California did, and to state the relation of their instructions, I shall be most proud and happy to reply.

Mr. LOGAN. I do not object to your instructions.

Mr. PIXLEY. It can not be done in a single word. It must involve a momentary history of the proceedings of our State convention.

The PRESIDENT. The debate must be confined within reasonable limits as to the question of time.

Mr. PIXLEY. *Mr. President:* It has seemed to me that this whole debate is out of order.

Now, for the question. California elected her delegates here by the votes of the four Congressional districts; and, in order that there should be no question of our authority to be here, the State convention confirmed our delegates' right to represent it; and then, Mr. President, that there might be no further mistake, the State central committee signed our credentials and accredited us here as the representatives of the State of California. That State convention with perfect unanimity, and nobody dissenting, instructed us to vote first, last and all the time for the distinguished senator from Maine.

Mr. LOGAN. I was attempting to illustrate this proposition: That gentlemen from a State, who are complaining of the manner of the delegation being chosen in the State of Illinois, themselves claiming to be representing districts, had to go to a State convention, receive instructions, and receive their credentials from a State central committee under the instructions of a State convention, before they could be accredited to this Convention. And, sir, there was more than that, which I will not mention. But the proposition was this: That, while certain States claim to be represented by districts, they themselves should accord to each and every other State the same right to have their representatives sent either by a State convention or by the district convention.

Now, let me address myself to one other proposition for a moment. Your President is elected by Electors from this State, and from every other State. These Electors are instructed by their people; they vote as a unit for President. When your election goes into the House under the Constitution, your States vote one vote as a unit. You are not represented by districts when you come to elect the President. You are not represented by districts when you come to vote in Congress for a President. I ask, then, why this new rule shall be established by this Convention, before any State has ever received notice that it shall be so done? If you pass a resolution by this National Convention that the States hereafter shall hold their conventions by districts, Illinois will cheerfully obey it; but, until the National Convention shall establish that rule by resolution requiring it to be done, no State is required to change its form or its mode of procedure in their State conventions. So it is with reference to our State; we have so selected our delegates; and what I wanted to call the attention of delegates to is this: and I say it now, not in the manner of warning I never make threats—I have none to make; God forbid that I should; but I do say this: If I was a candidate for President, I would not want a Convention that nominated me for President to do it by depriving my opponent of the votes from his State. I appeal to this Convention. I have no desire to discuss this question, only to have this Convention understand the position of the delegation from Illinois, that they may deal with it fairly. This is all we ask. I do think that the chairman of the Committee should certainly change his resolution. He certainly should give an opportunity for fair and free debate on this question. To say that as to eighteen delegates—nine districts—each one separate, each one having a right to have a vote separate, on their right to a seat here—thirty minutes only be allowed, is not fair, and it is not just. This is about three minutes to a district, or about that—very little more.

Mr. CONGER. I desire—

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Illinois yield to the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. LOGAN. Certainly.

Mr. CONGER. I hope the gentleman will bear in mind that I have made no motion to limit debate in any manner whatever.

Mr. LOGAN. I misunderstood the gentleman. Who was it? I thought it was his resolution.

Mr. CONGER. I hope the gentleman will recognize the fact that I said I hoped all reasonable time desired for the explanation of this case may be given by the Convention.

Mr. LOGAN. That is all, sir, that we desire. Then I will ask whose resolution it is?

The PRESIDENT. The pending resolution is one offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Quarles].

Mr. LOGAN. Then I misunderstood. I thought the gentleman from Michigan had offered it.

Mr. QUARLES. Will the gentleman from Illinois yield for a moment?

Mr. LOGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. QUARLES. We have already listened to two long speeches in regard to this resolution. Neither the one nor the other gentleman who has spoken on this subject has favored us with an expression of opinion as to what would be the proper time to be consumed in the consideration of the subject. I desire to say that I am ready to listen to a discussion on this subject, though necessarily or even unnecessarily drawn out; but let us meet the subject fairly. If the hour named in this resolution is not enough, let the gentlemen indicate how much time they want, and it will be readily granted. But, Mr. President, the gentlemen have already occupied nearly an hour in discussing the Illinois matter, and have not once touched the subject-matter of the pending resolution.

Mr. LOGAN. The gentleman asked me to give way to ask a question. Will he please state the question?

Mr. QUARLES. The question is, if the honorable gentleman does not deem the time named by the resolution sufficient time to discuss this question, will he indicate how much time he desires?

Mr. LOGAN. I should have done that before I took my seat, without the gentleman asking the question.

Mr. QUARLES. It occurred to me that that is a very pertinent point.

Mr. LOGAN. I was going to suggest it, and the reason that I did not state any particular time was that I am subject to this Convention the same as we are all subject to its voice, and I do not want to say how long we shall have. But let the Convention fix the time (and I hope it will not be fixed as short as the time proposed), and then put your limit where you think it is reasonable. I do not like to make a motion for time for my friends here; but if some gentleman that wants to be fair will suggest a proper and reasonable time on either side which will be satisfactory to this Convention, we will not grumble for a moment.

Mr. HARRISON, of Indiana. *Mr. President:*—

Mr. LOGAN. I have the floor yet, I believe.

The PRESIDENT. I understood that the gentleman from Illinois had concluded his remarks.

Mr. HARRISON. I was going to move an amendment to the pending motion, that one hour be allowed each side for the discussion of this question. When we consider that an hour has already been consumed on behalf of the sitting delegates, I think that time would be reasonable.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin accept the amendment or modification of the gentleman from Indiana?

Mr. QUARLES. I will accept the amendment.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. I rise simply to call the attention of the Convention to the peculiar phraseology of this resolution, as reported. It conflicts with the order already made by the Convention in reference to the counsel that may appear in behalf of the contestants or contestees. The resolution may not have been so intended; but it does, in words, authorize the contestants or contestees to appear by a representative not a member of this body. This Convention has already very wisely ordered that the contestants and contestees in each case shall appear, either by one of themselves or by some member of the Convention.

Now, Mr. President, the experience of this body has demonstrated that if they shall only be heard by themselves or by some member of this Convention, we shall have quite enough said on both sides. I therefore hope, if an amendment is still in order—or would that be in the second degree?

The PRESIDENT. There is no pending amendment.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I move, therefore, to strike out that part of the resolution which authorizes the contestants or the contestees to appear by a representative who is not a member of one of the bodies or of this Convention, in order that the original order of the Convention may be enforced and regarded.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution of the gentleman from Wisconsin, as modified by him, will be read. The Chair will then state the question upon the amendment.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. It is suggested that I amend it by simply saying that we make the resolution here conform to the order made in the Alabama case (except in point of time), which limits the right to appear either in person or by a representative who is not a member of this body.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Quarles] will be read.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

*Resolved*, That two hours be allotted for the presentation of the Illinois contest to this Convention; one-half of the time aforesaid to be allotted to the contestants and one-half to the sitting members. That the said contestants be permitted to appear upon the floor, either by one of their number or some other representative, to present their case.

The PRESIDENT. To this the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Butterworth] moves the following substitute. The gentleman will give his careful attention and see if it embraces the idea of his amendment.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Convention do now proceed to the consideration and determination of so much of the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials as relates to the contested seats from the State of Illinois, and that one hour's time be allotted to those desiring to speak in support of the report of the majority of said Committee, and the same time to those desiring to oppose the adoption of said majority report; that at the expiration of said time the debate close, and the Convention proceed immediately to vote upon the question.

The substitute was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question now recurs on the resolution as amended.

Mr. WENTWORTH, of Illinois. Please read the resolution as amended.

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose did the gentleman rise? The Chair does not understand the gentleman.

Mr. CONKLING. He asks to hear the resolution.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution as amended will again be read.

The Secretary again read the resolution last read.

The resolution as amended was adopted.

The PRESIDENT. The question is now on the adoption of so much of the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials as relates to the State of Illinois.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. LOGAN. I desire to ask one question before the gentleman commences. The Chair spoke of the report in reference to the State of Illinois. Am I to understand the proposition is to adopt it as a whole, or can we ask a division of the question?

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of so much of the report of the majority of the Committee as already amended on motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe,] this morning, striking out so much as relates to the delegates-at-large. That question the Chair will hold as divisible on the demand of any member of the Convention, into such divisions as consist of cases which are put together both in the majority and the minority report as resting upon the same principle.

Mr. LOGAN. That is all I desire.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Michigan will proceed.

Mr. METCALF, of Illinois. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. METCALF. I would like to inquire what the question is before the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The question is, will the Convention adopt so much of the report of the majority of the Committee as relates to the contested seats from the State of Illinois? The Chair has already informed the Convention that that question is divisible as stated. The demand for that division may be made either before the debate or after; at any time before the vote is taken.

Mr. METCALF. I understand, Mr. President, that there was a motion made that the minority report be adopted as a substitute for the majority report, and if that was not made I desire to make it.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is in order to make that motion at this time, if the gentleman from Michigan yields the floor for that purpose. The Chair will inform the gentleman, however, that the representative of the minority of the Committee, [Mr. Cessna] of Pennsylvania, has stated that the minority prefer to make such motion as they would make in relation to that subject at the close of the debate rather than at the beginning. If the gentleman [Mr.

Metcalfe] desires to make the motion now, however, he can do so. [After a pause.] The gentleman from Michigan will proceed.

MR. CONGER. *Mr. President:* It so happens that before the Committee on Credentials there appeared, on either side, for the contestants and the contestees, two of the most distinguished and most eloquent men who might address a convention in any city in the United States, if not in the world. For what purpose the Convention decided to refuse the benefit of their remarks, and of their investigations to enlighten the Convention upon this case, I cannot determine. But, sir, although not expecting to occupy a moment in this discussion, it becomes me now, necessarily, to open this case in behalf of the majority. I shall say but few words. I hope what I say may be received as the opinion of the Committee which I have the honor to represent. Without stopping to go into detail in this case, the Committee recommend that in these several districts, the report of which, after the discussion may be read, the contestants shall be admitted to their seats in this Convention in place of the sitting members; and leaving all questions of details to those who may desire to speak upon these subjects, I desire to call the attention of this Convention to the question involved in the majority report. First, sir, the majority report asserts, confirms, establishes in this Convention the rule that has prevailed in the State of Illinois from the organization of the Republican party in this State, through all the successive years of its existence, down to the present time, in one unbroken, uninterrupted, unquestioned chain of procedure. The Committee believe that there never has been a time in the State of Illinois at any one of the State conventions when delegates to a National Convention were to be chosen, when the delegates from the different Congressional districts did not withdraw from the convention, organize themselves either formally or informally into a district convention, select their delegates from the district to the National Convention, report the result to the State convention, and either by some acceptance or some signification, or without any, those delegates went into the National Convention, took their seats there, and voted and exercised their prerogatives in guiding the destinies of the Republican party, and in controlling,—which is far higher, and holier, and more sacred,—the destinies of our glorious Republic. That, sir, in my opinion is unquestioned, and in all the discussions before the Committee it was admitted that in one form or another district delegates were always appointed and selected by the delegates of the district in the State convention. If that be so, why this attempted innovation? *Mr. President,* the Republican party has stood from its very organization, bold, courageous, unshrinking in its opposition to that great heresy in American politics,—the right of States in their sovereignty to control the General Government by nullifying its laws, to control the General Government by seceding from its Union, to control the General Government by making war in the name of its State-sovereignty against the Union; and worse than that, against the rights of citizens within the Union. We stand against that assertion of our enemies in the late war. But, sir, not content with denouncing those doctrines in the forum, and in the halls of our National Legislature, we called the great, grand soldier of the Nation to lead our armed sons to put down that heresy, that damnable heresy, in our midst, by force of arms. Does it become a Republican Convention to assert at this late day the right of the State, or a State convention in its capacity as a State convention, to take away from districts where the people choose their delegates,



and those delegates select the representative of the district,—to take away that right and make one step further in the direction of the heresy which has cost us so much?

Sir, that is the whole question involved in this proposition. There is no gentleman in this Convention but knows that the assumption of the State convention is the assumption of a self-constituted body to determine the election of these delegates, contrary to the usages of the party in the State of Illinois. We cannot permit it, sir, from the greatest man or the grandest man, or an assembly of the greatest and grandest men in the world, that we shall remove further than may be from the people themselves the choice of their representatives in National Conventions. On that proposition turns this question. I, myself, with the expression which has been made here to-night, by an overwhelming majority, of the principles which the majority of the Committee advocate in their report, do not deem it necessary to occupy another hour. For, if men will be candidates for the suffrages of their fellow-citizens for the most important and grandest office in the world, let them not fear to go down into the walks of common life and receive the suffrages of the people in their nomination as well as their election—that is Republicanism—that is our system; for that I stand here to-night to plead in this Convention; for that the majority have made their report for you to sanction. Against that for some purpose, and I will not stop here now to say for what purpose, those who ask the suffrages of this Convention for their favored candidates rebel. From that report and its principles they appeal to this Convention. Mr. President, that is of equal importance; aye, more importance to settle right, than it is who shall be President of the United States.

I shall await, sir, and those who will occupy the remainder of this time will await, to have some one assert here that in the State of Illinois there has ever been any other custom than to elect and select delegates to the National Convention for the respective districts by a separate assemblage of the delegates of the district. If I am correctly informed, the line of precedents is unbroken from the beginning until now. Let the line of precedents remain unbroken now. And finally, let that course be established by this Convention—a Convention, which, as I look down upon this vast assemblage of delegates and alternates, as I look around this immense building upon the bright, intelligent faces of my fellow-citizens, seems to me to be a Convention unsurpassed in intelligence, in dignity, in worth, in patriotism—such a Convention as never assembled before upon the footstool of God. Let this Convention thus exercise its high prerogative here in asserting the principle, and, when the time comes for this Convention to point out and suggest and recommend such other measures as will further the interests of the grandest of all the parties that were ever organized on earth, let them, as the gentleman from Illinois says, define a mode of proceeding, so that even those States who have not permitted their delegates to come more directly from the people shall understand that it is a principle of the Republican party that the people in their primary capacity, exercising freely their own choice, are the sovereigns, and the only sovereigns, in our land, and that they shall determine from now, henceforth and forever, while our glorious Republic shall last, who shall be their leaders, and who shall be their rulers, and who shall be their lawmakers, and who shall be the executors of their laws. But, sir, I will not weary the patience of this Convention by any further remarks on that subject. If the propositions I have made are true, if they are undisputed, then,

by the admission of all in Illinois and out of Illinois,—and that takes in all the world,—the report of the majority is correct in principle, is correct in practice, is correct according to all the principles of the Republican party, and should be sustained whenever the question arises.

Now, Mr. President, to the wisdom, to the ideas of propriety, and the glorious patriotism of these representatives of the people here present, I freely commit this question, without further comment or argument from myself; and, sir, after having heard what the contestees to the minority report may have to say upon this question, I reserve the remainder of the time for the contestants themselves to answer. How much time have I occupied?

The PRESIDENT. Nineteen minutes. The question is on the adoption of the majority report relating to the State of Illinois.

Mr. RAUM, of Illinois. Mr. President: I rise on behalf of the sitting delegates, whose seats the majority report, if adopted, will vacate, and confer upon other gentlemen. My distinguished friend who has taken his seat has been vehement in presenting what he understands to be the traditions and law of the Republican party in the State of Illinois in respect to the selection of delegates to the National Conventions of the United States. I say to you, Mr. President, and to the honorable gentlemen of this Convention, that the sitting delegates from the State of Illinois are willing to rest their rights upon the law of this case, and upon the precedents which have been established by long usage of the party in the State of Illinois. We are here, sir, asking for justice. We ask for nothing more. We expect that gentlemen, when they come to vote upon this great question, will not be biased by the interests of their respective candidates, but treat this question in a dispassionate, fair-minded and just manner. It has been well said by various gentlemen who have addressed this Convention, that there is not to-day, and never has been, an uniform rule in all the States in respect to the selection of delegates in the National Convention. Whenever an uniform rule shall be adopted by the authoritative declaration of the Republicans of the United States, the Republicans of Illinois will cheerfully acquiesce in that rule; but I say to you, Mr. President, as is said in this minority report, that we do not wish to be subjected to an *ex post facto* rule—a rule adopted after the facts. We want this case tried by the law, as it exists to-day, that law having been established by the usages of the Republican party since 1856. I say to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan that he is in error in regard to his facts. I say to him that there is an unbroken line of precedents in the State of Illinois to the effect that the State conventions from time immemorial have selected the delegates, instructed the delegates, and sent them to the Republican National Conventions of this country. Why, Mr. President, the usage of both of the parties in the State of Illinois has been the same for the last forty years, and to my individual knowledge—for, sir, I was born and raised in this great State, and to my certain knowledge since 1852 no convention—Whig, Democratic, or Republican—sending delegates to the National Conventions in this country, have acted otherwise than through a State convention. I assert it as a fact that can not be controverted, that there never was a district convention held in the State of Illinois to select a delegate to a National Convention.

Gentlemen may say that the committee of a State convention, going out under the instructions of that convention to perform certain duties, are Congressional conventions. I deny the statement *in toto*.

What constitutes a convention? What are the preliminary steps which lead to the organization of a convention? Did you ever hear of a convention meeting in the State of Illinois unless there was a call issued for that convention? Think, if you please, of a convention meeting, electing delegates, instructing those delegates, and sending them to a National Convention, unless there was a call for that convention.

Mr. President, the call under which the sitting delegates were selected was a call for a State convention. The Republicans in the various counties of the State of Illinois were requested to send delegates to a State convention, for the purpose of nominating State officers, for the purpose of sending delegates to the National Convention, for the purpose of selecting Electors, and creating a State-Republican central committee.

This has been the practice in the State of Illinois since the organization of the Republican party. In 1860, when Lincoln, of sainted memory, was presented by the Republicans of Illinois for the suffrages of the people of this country, the delegates were selected by a State convention, and I had the following resolution adopted.

"Resolved, That Abraham Lincoln is the choice of the Republican party of Illinois for the Presidency, and the delegates from this State are instructed to use all honorable means to secure his nomination by the Chicago convention, and vote as a unit for him. And the said delegates shall have power to fill all vacancies."

Mr. President, we have recognized Abraham Lincoln as a man possessed of some little political sense and experience. There is the resolution under which the Republican delegates, sent to the National Convention, acted when Abraham Lincoln was nominated in 1860.

In 1864 the delegates were selected in the same way, by a State convention. And a similar resolution was passed, instructing the delegates to that Convention to vote for Abraham Lincoln as a unit.

In 1868, when the Republican convention of this State met at Peoria, I happened to be a delegate to that convention. I was on the committee on resolutions, and I assisted in the preparation of the letter of instructions to those delegates. Those delegates were selected by the State convention. They took their instructions from the State convention, and went to the National Convention, and assisted in the nomination of Ulysses S. Grant.

And how were those delegates selected? They were not selected otherwise than by a committee. A committee selected under the orders of the convention, composed of one delegate from each Congressional district in the State; they retired; they considered of the subject intrusted to their care, and they reported the necessary delegates, and their report was received by the convention and was adopted.

How was it in 1872? I state these facts, Mr. President, from actual knowledge, because I was a delegate at these conventions. In 1872 Ulysses S. Grant was again presented by Illinois to the suffrages of the people of this country. I had the honor of penning the letter of instructions to the delegates to use all honorable means and vote as a unit for Ulysses S. Grant. How were the delegates selected? They were selected in 1872 by a committee. That committee was raised under the orders of the convention—one member from each Congressional district. They reported the names of the delegates; that report was received by the convention, and it was

ratified, and those delegates performed the duties with which they were entrusted.

How was it in 1876? I was at that convention. I was the Temporary Chairman of that convention. The delegates were selected by a committee. That committee, Mr. President, was raised under the instructions of that convention; it consisted of one delegate from each Congressional district. They retired, they considered of their business, and they reported for the consideration of that convention the names of gentlemen to sit as delegates to the convention. Their report was received by the convention—

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. *Mr. President:* I desire to ask the gentleman a question.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman yield to the gentleman from California?

Mr. RAUM. Yes.

Mr. PIXLEY. Is it not a fact—I have heard it asserted—that that committee reported the names of persons who had been selected by the delegates from Congressional districts? I know that you are conversant with it. I ask you for the information.

Mr. RAUM. They may have consulted, and I have no doubt did consult, with the delegates from their respective Congressional districts. And how was it done in 1880? The delegates were selected by a committee; that committee reported the delegates for the consideration of the convention, and that report was considered by the convention and ratified, and these delegates are sitting in front of me this day. I answer the gentleman from California that, as a matter of course this committee consulted with their friends; as a matter of course, they undertook to choose such men as would be in accord with the majority of that convention. They took the advice of their friends in reporting those names for the consideration of the convention.

Mr. PIXLEY. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Illinois yield to the gentleman from California? Gentlemen must understand that any yielding comes out of the time of the gentlemen who yield.

Mr. RAUM. Then you must excuse me, Mr. President, for not yielding. These are the precedents; and I say to you, and I say to this Convention, that these precedents constitute the law which is to govern this case; that is, that a State convention has the right, as they have exercised that right since 1856, to select the mode by which these delegates shall be chosen. That mode has always been followed in these various conventions, and when delegates were selected their names were brought into the convention for ratification by the convention. Why, Mr. President, the fact that the Republicans of Illinois have always and everywhere claimed the right to instruct their delegates, is conclusive evidence that they also claim the right of selecting delegates that would obey their instructions. What was the issue in the Springfield convention? When we went down to Springfield we found a minority in that convention who were threatening up and down the streets of that city, and through the corridors of the hotels that unless we conducted the affairs of that convention according to their will and pleasure, they would bolt the convention. There was an issue.

The majority of that convention was in favor of selecting delegates to support Ulysses S. Grant, and the minority of that convention told us in the convention itself, in the course of debate, that they

would not obey the instructions that that convention might give them, to vote for Ulysses S. Grant.

When Abraham Lincoln, sitting at the Capitol of the State of Illinois, had his friends to instruct the delegates to vote for him as a unit; when, at the second term, the same course was pursued; when, in 1868, the same course was pursued; when, in 1872, the same course was pursued in regard to instructions, you have a line of precedents which conclusively shows that the Republicans of the State of Illinois have at all times claimed, in convention assembled, to hold in their hands the authority of selecting delegates to carry out their will. When the majority at Springfield found that the minority selected as delegates to this Convention would disobey their instructions, they concluded, and rightfully concluded, to give expression to the great majority of the Republicans of the State of Illinois, by selecting delegates who would carry out the will of the Republicans of Illinois. Those delegates come here to-day. They occupy those seats. They are regular delegates. They represent the great voice of the Republicans of the State of Illinois. I ask you, Mr. President, and I ask honorable gentlemen of this Convention, and I wish them to take it deep into their hearts this night, whether by revolutionary means inaugurated after the fact they propose to put these eighteen delegates out by adopting an *ex post facto* law in their case. Why, Mr. President, we have been told by the honorable Chairman of the Committee on Credentials that there were fifty contests here in this National Convention. Why these contests? Why is it that from one end of this country to the other you find that there are contests for seats in this National Convention? I will tell you, Mr. President, why. It is because you are seeking to invade, to overturn and destroy, the ordinary methods of the Republican party in these States. I say to you that these are revolutionary measures. This Convention can turn those eighteen delegates out. You have the power to do it, but I say to you, that if this revolutionary spirit is carried forward another four years, the hour has struck for the destruction and overthrow of the Republican party. I will support your candidate. I will go forward and ask the people of Illinois to support him; but I warn you, Mr. President, and I warn you, gentlemen of the Convention, that the Republican party can not stand such a strain another four years.

We ask these delegates in the National Convention assembled to do us justice. We ask them to administer the law, and I have stated the law. We are willing to learn from New England. We are willing to learn from adjacent States. We are willing to be taught our A, B, C's in politics. I have been in politics now these thirty years, and I find that I do not know anything about it. I find that the whole thing is to be learned over again. I find that if a State convention meets, and nobody objects, why then they can send delegates to a National Convention. But if somebody gets into one corner of a hotel, and gathers two or three around him, and files a protest, and comes up with credentials, and says, "Here was a district convention, and you must not stifle the voice of a district convention," then your State convention is of no validity.

[A voice from the gallery. Is that your experience at the Palmer House?]

Mr. RAUM. The gentleman in the gallery has alluded to the Palmer House. That is not pertinent to this inquiry. But, Mr. President, it seems to excite some curiosity, and it would seem from what has just passed, that I would be afraid to speak of the Palmer

House. I have no fears of alluding to what occurred here in Cook county some few weeks ago. I do not live in Cook county. I live 350 miles south of Cook county. I have nothing to do with broils in politics here; but there is one important feature of this Cook county affair that does not seem to be understood by the gentlemen who have come up to this Convention from a distance. When the primary elections were held here in the county of Cook, and in the great city of Chicago, it was found that that candidate that lives in the northeastern corner of this nation was unable to carry Cook county against Ulysses S. Grant, and it was found necessary to drag another name into that race against his consent, and to drag him into that race in a manner that is calculated to cause those who are not his friends to say that it was an ungracious act, and an act of ingratitude; and they did this for the purpose of uniting all elements against Ulysses S. Grant. Why, Mr. President, when this popular uprising we have heard so much talk about occurred, one-fourth of the votes were cast—just one-fourth of the votes—and Ulysses S. Grant beat James G. Blaine about two thousand.

A DELEGATE. Three thousand.

Mr. RAUM. Three thousand; and he beat E. B. Washburne by a large majority. Why, if the ninety-two delegates had been voted for at large, in the county of Cook, every one of them would have been elected as Grant delegates—every one of them. They would have been elected according to the poll that was made at that election. And when the returns came in, it was found that Ulysses S. Grant had a large majority in three of the Senatorial districts.

Now, Mr. President, when these contesting delegates went down to the city of Springfield, they were met by six hundred dispassionate men, who had nothing to do with this contest. They sat upon that contest two days, and laying aside the form of that county convention, but looking to the substance of primary election, they gave to these parties the number of delegates that they were entitled to according to the votes that were cast at that primary election. Why, my distinguished friend here [Mr. Conger] stickles, severely stickles, to have delegates close up to the people. Here were delegates that were close to the people; here were delegates, which, by the voice of three Senatorial districts in the county of Cook, were chosen by the great majority of the people of these districts.

Much has been said of the action of that State convention, Mr. President. I was not a delegate to that convention. I visited Springfield on business, and to look at the proceedings of that convention. I have attended nearly all the conventions in this State since the war. After two days in that great mass of excited men, it was believed that I would be able better to control these elements than any other gentleman there. I undertook that duty and I performed it as well as I could, with my inexperience as a presiding officer. I did justice as I saw it. I tried to do justice to every man in that convention. But, sir, I call your attention to the fact that it was a very exciting convention. It lasted three days and two nights. We had one continuous session from seven in the afternoon until nearly two o'clock at night, which was filled with debate, and excited debate at that. Laying aside that convention, Mr. President, I come again to state to these delegates of the National Convention that we want you to do us justice, and in doing us justice you will leave those eighteen men in their seats.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair informs the Convention that Mr. Elliott Anthony, a contestant from the Third Congressional district,

desires to occupy a portion of the time assigned to that side of the question. Gentlemen of the committee on both sides agree to that. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. CONKLING. What portion of the time will he occupy?

The PRESIDENT. Not more than ten minutes, Mr. Anthony says. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. ANTHONY. *Mr. President*: I do not, in the short space of time that I shall occupy here, intend to travel over the ground covered by the gentleman who just preceded me, but shall confine myself to the question before the Convention. That question, as I understand it, is, What has been the practice of the Republican party in the State of Illinois in selecting their delegates to the National Convention? This is a question, Mr. President, that is to be determined, and ought to be determined without any reference to the bearing it may have upon the distinguished soldier that was referred to by one of the sitting delegates from Illinois, and without any reference to the bearing it may have upon that distinguished statesman that has been referred to by other gentlemen here; but it must be decided on the facts of this case, and as I say again, in accord with the practice.

Now what has been the practice in this State? The gentleman that preceded me, as I understood him, laid down the doctrine that it was the State conventions that elected the delegates to the National Convention. I wish here in my place to deny it as a question of fact; and I meet it fairly and squarely by saying that never in the history of the State of Illinois were the delegates to the National Convention ever selected by anybody, except by conventions of the Congressional districts. I repeat it again in the most emphatic manner, and if the gentleman meant what he said, he stands before the public and the people of Illinois as a perverter of history. This is no time to mince words over a question of this character. And I am emphatic upon this, particularly so because I understood from the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Boutwell], who has introduced a resolution here, that he was in favor of having delegates selected and recognized in the way and manner that the precedents of the party had been for years in the past.

Now, the first Republican convention that was called in the State of Illinois was in 1856. The resolution that was introduced upon that subject was by a distinguished gentleman that occupies a seat in the First Congressional district here to-day. The Hon. John Wentworth introduced this resolution:

*"Resolved*, That the delegates in attendance from the several Congressional districts be requested to suggest the name of one person from each Congressional district for Presidential Elector, and three persons for delegates to the National Convention. And that a committee of nine, consisting of one from each Congressional district, be appointed by the chair, to recommend two such Electors, and six delegates for the State-at-large."

At that time, you will recollect, we selected six delegates for the State-at-large. Take the next record and follow it down to the present time. I wish to state to the gentlemen here, that for the first time in the history of the State of Illinois was there a committee appointed upon motion of any gentleman upon the floor. And it was the first time in the history of the party that the distinguished gentleman that spoke here a moment ago took out of his pocket, himself, a list of the committees without their being suggested by the various Congressional districts in the State.

What are the facts in this case as shown by statistics here? The facts are that delegates were elected to the State convention. They went there, and, in accordance with the custom of the party, they held there the Congressional district election. They selected their men as we had done since 1856. The first thing we knew, as I stated, after this had been done, and each of the Congressional districts in the State had selected their delegates to the National Convention, it was found that in various ones of these Congressional districts they would represent different persons, in their preferences, from what the majority of that convention at that time wanted, and they proceeded to set aside the men that had been selected to this Convention. Take 1860; that was the next State convention of the Republican party at which delegates to the National Convention were appointed. It was held in Decatur, May 9 and 10, 1860. The following is an extract from the proceedings of that body:

"Mr. John M. Palmer moved that a committee of one member from each Congressional district be appointed by the chair, to nominate four delegates from the State-at-large to the Chicago Convention, with alternates, and two candidates for Electors from the State-at-large. Mr. Murphy moved to amend Mr. Palmer's proposition by providing that the members of the National Committee be selected, not by the chair, but by 'the several representatives present from the Congressional districts.'"

At a subsequent stage of the proceedings appears this:

"The report of the Committee on Delegates and Alternates-at-large was presented and received. The committee recommended the selection of the following gentlemen:" Then follows the names of the gentlemen. "On motion it was ordered that the various Congressional districts, through the proper persons, hand in a list of district delegates selected by them, and also the district alternates."

What did the gentleman mean when he stood up before you here to-night and said that the State convention had selected the delegates to the National Convention? I have the record here. Take the Convention of 1864. The Republican State convention of that year met at Springfield May 25th, and the record on this point is as follows:

"Mr. Scammon, of Cook, moved that 'a committee to consist of one delegate from each Congressional district, to be selected by the delegates from among themselves, be appointed to nominate six delegates-at-large for the Baltimore Convention, and their alternates, and to select two delegates from each Congressional district to the Baltimore Convention, and their alternates, and one candidate for Elector for President and Vice-President in each Congressional district.' Mr. Cook, of LaSalle, moved to amend the last branch of the resolution so as to read as follows: 'That the delegates from each Congressional district select two delegates to the Baltimore Convention, and two alternates.' The amendment was accepted by Mr. Scammon."

That was the action in 1864. Take 1868. In that convention it was as follows:

"The Republican State convention met at Peoria, May 6. As part of the proceedings of that, Mr. Franklin Corwin of La Salle, was elected president, and then announced that four committees had been decided upon, one of which was a committee to choose Electors and delegates to the National Convention. The various



Congressional districts were called upon to name one member for each of these committees, and it was announced as follows: Committee to name delegates to the National Convention, *First district*, A. C. Hesing; *Second*, George S. Bangs," and so forth.

After the completion of the nomination of the ticket for the State officers the record continues: "The committee on election was called upon to report, which they did as follows:" Then follows a list of the delegates to the National Convention, which were selected at that time by the Congressional district conventions.

Take 1872. At that convention Mr. James P. Root, of Cook county, acted as temporary chairman and the Hon. Stephen T. Logan was president. "On motion of Mr. Metcalf, it was resolved that the Congressional districts be called in their numerical order, and that each district be requested to present the name of one delegate to represent said district upon the Congressional committee."

After the nomination had been completed, the next business was the report of the committee on delegates to Philadelphia from both the districts and the State-at-large. In that convention there is no record at any time that the Congressional districts made a report back whom they had selected.

Now, take 1876. (I will be through in a moment; this is the last one I shall refer to.) Gen. Rinaker, of Macoupin, offered the following:

"*Resolved*, That the Congressional districts be called in their order, and when called each district name its delegate to serve on the committee."

At that time a Congressional district convention was called, and at that time they selected their delegates to the National Convention, and the State convention, as a convention, had nothing whatever to do with it. I have the record here, and I say to this Convention, whatever the statement of the gentleman was, when he stands before the people of the State of Illinois—

Mr. RAUM. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. ANTHONY. When he says that delegates to the National Convention have been heretofore selected by the State convention, I confront him and say here, upon my knowledge, which is equal to that of the gentleman, that he perverts history itself; it is not true.

Mr. RAUM. May I ask the gentleman a question?

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANTHONY. The distinguished gentleman has occupied a large portion of the time of this Convention this afternoon. I want to get through with my say, and then he can talk on. I represent here the Third Congressional district and I want to tell you about that.

Mr. MURPHY, of New York. I would like to ask the gentleman if he did not state in the corridor of the hotel two days ago this week that, under no circumstances would he vote for Gen. Grant if he was nominated?

Mr. ANTHONY. I, sir? I never said so in my life; and I never thought of saying such a thing in my life. No, sir, I will support Gen. Grant, or any other man that this Convention nominates. I want to say that I represent here the Third Congressional district in this county. It has a population of over 120,000. Nearly 50,000 of that population are Germans. In that district, at the Cook county elections, there were only two men that were elected as Grant men in the entire district. Myself and the other delegate, Mr. Hesing, were by the Congressional convention elected unanimously as delegates to this Convention. Whom did they take to place over us?

They took and placed over us for one the Hon. John L. Beveridge, who was beaten out of sight in his own town. They could not find Germans enough in that district to make a representative of, and they took a most reputable man,—a good man,—but a Bohemian, who does not represent the German population at all. The gentleman pictures to you what disasters will follow. I want to tell you, that these ten Congressional districts of the State of Illinois constitute the Republican party itself. In 1876, they gave a Republican majority of nearly 28,000. The counties down south that voted solid against us, gave at that time more than 8,000 Democratic majority. These gentlemen talk about revolutionary measures. The men to introduce and inaugurate revolution were the men who operated and co-operated with the gentleman. We are here pleading for justice, and we ask no more than to follow the precedents of the party.

Mr. STROBACH, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* I rise to a question of privilege.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. STROBACH. I desire as an adopted, so-called "German" citizen of this country, that this question—this bugaboo—should be taken away from the Convention and not always be brought before you, because I desire to state here to-night that I am satisfied it is not true. Every one of us is an *American* citizen, and not a "German" citizen any more. It is misleading the public mind, and it is not true, and I request you not to believe in it. I said the same thing in 1872. I am tired of hearing this.

Mr. STORRS, of Illinois. *Mr. President:* A proposition is made for the first time in the political history of a National Convention to abolish State conventions in Illinois. It will not work. We have gone along since 1856 under our system of State conventions, and have rolled up magnificent Republican majorities. I hope that Maine, I hope that Ohio, looking back to their troublesome history as Republican States, will not undertake to force upon us their methods. It is very clear that they had better adopt ours. The gentleman who last addressed the Convention has arrogated to the Congressional districts, for whom he speaks, the supreme credit of being the Republican party of the State of Illinois. The First, Second and Third Congressional districts, two years ago, gave Democratic majorities of 17,000. So much for history. The gentleman must have been out of the party, and have forgotten the event. I stand here to-night, with the only evidences of title as a delegate to this Convention that a delegate from the State of Illinois ever presented. It is a question of title. No delegate from Illinois ever appeared in a National Convention that did not bear with him the credentials of the State which he represented in that body; never. And the Illinoisan who got into the Convention on any other terms crawled in under the canvas, or was appointed doorkeeper. He never got in in the regular way. It is a question of title. I hold to-night the credentials from the State convention, and my title is no better because the evidences are the same as of the eighteen delegates whom you propose to exclude. You admit me, and you exclude them, on precisely the same evidences of title. Reconcile the inconsistency if you know how. Since 1856 this State has held Republican State conventions, and there has never been an instance in its history—not one—in which a delegate was appointed to a National Convention where the authority to make the appointment did not proceed from the convention at large. I do not care how vigorous, declamatory, noisy or vehement the assertion to the contrary may be. That is the history of the

State. When committees were formed for the selection of delegates, they were formed because the convention authorized them to be formed. Is the creature, I ask this body, superior to the creator? If it was a committee, selected by the Congressional districts, it was because in every instance the convention authorized the organization of the committee, and directed the body from which it should be constituted. And on all occasions the committee, clothed with this power, derived its authority not to select, not to appoint, but merely to *name* delegates to the National Convention; and their action was reported back to that body for its approval or its disapprobation. That has been the history of the State. Now it is proposed to change it. It has been urged, however, that a great, blessed privilege—that of district representation—has been invaded. All these delegates are from the Congressional districts, for which they were named, and there is but one exception to that statement of fact. Among the contesting delegates there is one delegate selected from the Sixth district, who is not a resident of that district, and has not been for years past. I go further with this history. I shall not detain you to-night by reading; but let me call your attention to the call for that convention. It is a convention of what? Of the Republicans of the State of Illinois. To meet how? To meet in State convention. For what purpose? As a State convention—as an entire, complete, indivisible political body to nominate candidates for State officers, and to name forty-two delegates to this body. That is the call. Recognizing the call, the thousands of Republicans of this State sent 693 delegates, not to a congregation of Congressional conventions, but to a great solid body called a State convention, in which either the majority or the minority must rule; and in this instance the majority decided to rule. Never has there been an instance in the entire history of this State when such a thing as a Congressional district convention was held within, outside, on the verge of, near by, or adjacent to a State convention. Never. In this long history to which I have referred, sometimes the convention has appointed a committee made up of one person from each Congressional district, to do what? Sometimes the chair has named the committee, sometimes the convention has named the committee, to select delegates to the National Convention. When that has been done the work has been referred back to that body, and they approved. The State convention has set its seal of approval upon the work, and by its credentials sent each delegate here, and he has represented not merely a school district, not merely a sewing society, not merely a fractional part of a Congressional district, but he has represented, in part, the majesty of the great State of Illinois.

Now, what is the offense which the State of Illinois on this occasion has committed? It desired, speaking authoritatively through its State convention, to give expression to its will. Whatever its will, we knew of but one method by which that will could be ascertained. It was by an appeal to the convention itself. When the convention, representing the Republicans of the State, declared by its majority its preference for a particular candidate, that was the will of the State, and if it had the power thus to express its will, it had, I undertake to say, power to make this expression effectual. If it had the right to instruct, and no one denies that it does possess that power, with the right to instruct, it had the right to make its instructions so vigorous that they would be obeyed. If it could express its will it had a right to enforce the execution of that will. It had a right to defend itself against treachery, trickery, fraud,

corruption, violated faith, broken pledges and disregarded instructions. It did protect itself, and that convention, as all prior conventions have done, selected men who needed not to be instructed. It selected men who knew no law but the will of the majority which they represented; who knew no "boss," and no allegiance to anything, and recognized no despotism except the stern, inexorable and irreversible despotism of duty.

It has been suggested, however, that an argument can be drawn from the call of *this* Convention. Looking back to the various calls of National Conventions, from 1864 down to this day, you will find that down to the call for this Convention no allusion whatever has been made to Congressional districts. There has merely been an expression indicating the number of delegates which each State was to select, but in this case the call was prepared by one of the members of the Committee at the suggestion of its Chairman, and never referred to the Committee as a body for its action. Is the will or accident of some scrivener to be substituted for and made the law of a great National Convention?

Now, if it is within your province to determine for us how we shall select our delegates to a State convention, will you please be good enough, and fair enough, and just enough to tell us what that law shall be in the future? Obedient citizens, bending before and recognizing the will of the Republicans of the Nation as they have expressed it, we will undertake to obey; but make no law for us to-day which shall be operative *yesterday*. Impose upon us no change in the policy of our party which shall be retroactive in its effect. It is possible that the methods of Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and Ohio, and other States are better than ours. Reason with us; change our methods if you can; but do not wipe out the past, and do not by your action undertake to disestablish the methods which we have already pursued.

It may be that the garments of the older States are better than our garments. It may be that they are more genteelly made. Doubtless they are. They do not fit us so well. This is a great, strong, powerful, rapidly growing community. It is a great, independent Republican State. So long as we transgress none of the rules of our political organization; so long as we are faithful to its creed; so long as, by a majority running up to 50,000, we carry your banner in victory, to the front, always in front, respect our precedents and consider kindly our peculiarities. The Republicans of the State of Illinois are not the men to indulge in threats. We do not undertake to terrorize others; and we decline to be terrorized ourselves. We support the ticket; we are for the candidate first, last, and all the time,—whomsoever he may be. We never saw a foe yet in the political field in whose presence our standard was ever voluntarily lowered, even an inch. It has gone down sometimes in defeat. It has never been drawn down. It has never known a surrender.

I appeal to considerations away beyond the mere personal preferences which we feel to-night. I appeal to those considerations infinitely grander, vastly nobler, than those personal preferences that inspire the galleries, and, I am afraid, the body of this Convention. I appeal to the great cause which absorbs within itself and is grander than all the greatness of our individual leaders. I appeal for that harmony in the future which we must have. I appeal to that just judgment of the party which I do not believe will ever knowingly, or willingly, or deliberately inflict a wrong. I conjure you to stay your

hand over what the Republican party in this State will regard as an outrage on its dignity, and on the freedom of its action.

I wish to indulge in no line of commentary that can intensify the bitterness which already exists. I wish to denounce no one. But I have seen upon this platform, advocating a cause which has been espoused here to-night, and announced in the report of this majority of the Committee, what looked to me like disembodied spirits of the party of Liberal movement of 1872.

I am in favor of no such resurrection. When the bolter dies, I hope that he may die, sir, the death that knows no waking. It does seem as if all the tombs of all the chronic bolters of the State had been rifled, and their forms, re-fleshed, set up here to speak a law to the Republicans of the State of Illinois. I object to being instructed from that quarter.

And now, looking to this future into which we are so rapidly walking,—looking to this great contest upon which we are so soon entering, do not, I beg of you, by one single word that you may utter, or one vote that you may cast, impair the energy of that great rank and file which constitute the 50,000 Republican majority of the State of Illinois.

I beg you to deal justly with us all, and whatever individual preference this great Convention may express will be responded to, not half-heartedly, not despairingly, not doubtfully, but with whole soul and in dead earnest. Nominate James G. Blaine if you will, and when the gentlemen who are cheering in the galleries to-night are reposing under the soft summer sky, tired of politics and disgusted with its fatigues, you will find the followers of the grand, old, silent soldier, awake by their camp fires, and carrying the banner of the sluggard forward to triumphant victory. [Loud and long-continued applause.]

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of the report. The gentleman has only four minutes of his hour remaining.

Mr. STORRS. Please give me these four minutes. I think I need but three.

Mr. RAUM. This Convention can be brought to profound order by everybody uniting in three cheers for the nominee of this Convention.

The cheers were enthusiastically given.

Mr. STORRS. *Gentlemen*: Give the grand old State that never knew a draft, and never filled up a regiment with paper soldiers,—give the grand old State, the home of Lincoln, and Douglas, and Grant, a fair chance. Put no indignity on the honor of her sons. Then, if you can nominate the worthy son of Ohio, John Sherman, do it fairly, and when the hysterical gentlemen who are afraid that he is not popular enough to carry Illinois, are inquiring their way to the polls, the grand old guard, whose representative I am, will have planted the banner of victory on the citadels of the enemy. By all means let us be free and absolutely untrammelled; put no just cause for complaint on us; have no hesitancy in a candidate who exhibits scars, provided they are honorable scars, won in honorable warfare.

Select no man without a record; pull no skulker from under the ammunition wagon, because he shows not upon him the signs of battle; take the old tried hero,—let us take him if we can get him; and then I believe with the old guard behind him, who have never kept steep in this world to any music but the music of the Union, and

with the friends of Blaine, and the friends of Sherman, and the friends of all good men, a victory will be achieved, the like of which has never been recorded in the annals of our National politics.

Citizens of one country, members of one party, let us remember that while we accept no indignities from our enemies, we hope and trust and pray our friends will put none upon us. Here in the midnight, with the storm without, and these assembled Republicans within, we are first to be just, first to be fair, and victory is ours as sure as the morning comes. Gentlemen, I thank you.

The PRESIDENT. Is the Convention ready for the question? The time allotted to the minority has expired.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. Has the time for discussion expired?

The PRESIDENT. The time allotted to the *minority* has expired. There are twenty-three minutes remaining of the time allotted to the majority.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. *Mr. President*: The gentleman who had prepared himself to speak for the majority, or for the contestants, fears that the resolution passed by the Convention permitting only delegates to speak shuts him out, because, although a delegate, he is only a proxy. What do you say? *Mr. President*, I ask unanimous consent, which overrides all rules, for Mr. Ingersoll to speak.

Objection was heard.

Mr. CONGER. The objection comes from New York.

The PRESIDENT. Objection is made. Does the gentleman take the floor in his own right?

Mr. CONGER. No, sir, but I claim the right of a gentleman who is here by the proxy of a delegate, to speak to this question, under the rule.

Mr. CONKLING. I rise to a question of privilege. I want to know what is going on. I want to inform the Chair that we are wholly ignorant of all that the gentleman from Michigan is saying. We know nothing about it even here.

Mr. CONGER. Perhaps after the half hour of argument, we might listen to a little talk.

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. *Mr. President*: Will the Convention indulge me for one moment? We have come three thousand miles—

A DELEGATE. Two thousand.

Mr. PIXLEY—to attend a deliberative Convention. (I have added 1,000 to accommodate myself to the exaggerated kind of speaking I hear to-night.) Our twelve delegates came here for no other purpose than that we could unite with the other gentlemen of this Convention, to secure that chiefest of all American citizens, whomever he may be, that shall be designated by this Convention as the standard-bearer in the coming conflict. Do not let us misunderstand our position, and in the midst of the enthusiasm of the moment be carried away by the conviction that we have not before us an earnest fight—a fight that will demand all the gallantry and the exercise of all the ability of all the Republicans of all sections.

Mr. METCALF, of Illinois. I call the gentleman to order. He is not speaking to the question.

Mr. PIXLEY. I am going to speak on the question of the contested delegation from the State of Illinois. I say the spectacle we have witnessed here to-night is unworthy of a great National Convention. It is worthy of France in the reign of Terror or in the time of the Commune. The enthusiasm—this shaking of umbrellas and of

handkerchiefs, and the waving of plumes, and the raising of painted banners—is not the duty which this Convention has before it. Mr. President, mark you, we are standing in the august presence of forty-five millions of people. Our transactions to-night will be sent broadcast over the whole world by the press of to-morrow morning. It is not to our discredit if we shall now come to order, and resume the order of our business and proceed with the deliberations for which we have been called together.

Mr. CONGER. I now call for a vote.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. If the Convention desires to address itself to the discussion of the merits of the proposition pending before the Convention, I desire to make a motion. Much of this night has been wasted, possibly. The people of the country will not hear the wild applause in behalf of one candidate or another, but will read with deliberate care what we do here; and will pass, as I trust, considerably upon our actions. It is of the first importance that we conclude the business with which we are charged, with despatch. It is of greater importance that we discharge our duties wisely, considerately and justly, and so that our acts here will meet with the approbation of the constituents we represent. I am delighted to know that there is considerable impartiality in the applause bestowed upon the respective candidates by the galleries. If that is not so, some, through misapprehension, have applauded at the wrong time.

But to my motion. In order that we may act coolly, considerately and wisely in this matter, it being now one o'clock in the morning, I move that this Convention adjourn until ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman moves that the Convention adjourn until ten o'clock. The motion is not debatable.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I mean, of course, until ten o'clock Saturday morning, it being now after one o'clock.

"If it were done, when 'tis done, then 'twere well  
It were done quickly."

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion to adjourn. [After putting the question.] The "noes" seem to have it.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. If the "noes" have it, I insist on a call of the roll.

Other DELEGATES. Call the roll.

The PRESIDENT. A call of the roll is demanded.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. One moment: I do not personally care about having the roll called, but when the Convention votes, let at least one-half of the members know what they are voting on.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio moves that the Convention do now adjourn until ten o'clock Saturday morning, and upon that question several delegates demand the calling of the roll. The roll will be called accordingly, if the motion be insisted on.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. So far as I am personally concerned, I do not insist upon the calling of the roll, if the entire Convention heard the motion and knew what it was.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will put the question again.

On the question being again taken, the Chair was in doubt as to the result, and ordered a call of the roll.

The PRESIDENT. The question will be stated again. The question is on the motion to adjourn until Saturday morning at ten o'clock. The Secretary will call the roll.

The roll of States was called and resulted, yeas 103, nays 653, as follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama .....	20	7	13	New York.....	70	1	69
Arkansas .....	12	...	12	North Carolina.....	20	5	15
California .....	12	...	12	Ohio.....	44	22	22
Colorado.....	6	...	6	Oregon.....	6	...	6
Connecticut .....	12	4	8	Pennsylvania.....	58	...	58
Delaware.....	6	...	6	Rhode Island.....	8	...	8
Florida.....	8	8	...	South Carolina.....	14	...	14
Georgia.....	22	1	21	Tennessee.....	24	1	23
Illinois.....	42	...	42	Texas.....	16	11	5
Indiana.....	30	...	30	Vermont.....	10	...	10
Iowa.....	22	...	22	Virginia.....	22	...	22
Kansas .....	10	...	10	West Virginia.....	10	...	10
Kentucky.....	24	...	24	Wisconsin.....	20	1	19
Louisiana.....	16	...	16	Arizona.....	2	...	2
Maine.....	14	...	14	Dakota.....	2	1	1
Maryland .....	16	2	14	District of Columbia...	2	...	2
Massachusetts.....	26	26	...	Idaho.....	2	...	2
Michigan.....	22	...	22	Montana.....	2	...	2
Minnesota.....	10	...	10	New Mexico.....	2	...	2
Mississippi.....	16	5	11	Utah.....	2	...	2
Missouri.....	30	...	30	Washington.....	2	...	2
Nebraska.....	6	...	6	Wyoming.....	2	...	2
Nevada.....	6	...	6				
New Hampshire.....	10	...	10				
New Jersey.....	18	...	18				
				Total.....	756	103	653

So the motion to amend was not agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the adoption of the report.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. In order to keep faith with all gentlemen who desire a division of this question, I now ask that it be divided into two parts—the first part to embrace the first Congressional district of Illinois, and the second division to embrace the other districts in dispute; reserving the right, if occasion should require, to make a further subdivision of the second division.

Several DELEGATES. No, no.

Mr. CESSNA. I ask that the Chair so decide, as matter of right; any member of this Convention has a right to ask for a division of the question.

Mr. CONGER. I rise to a point of order. The motion is to substitute the minority report for the majority report. There is nothing divisible in that.

The PRESIDENT. That motion has not been made.

Mr. CONGER. I understood it had.

Mr. CESSNA. No, sir; we expect to make it now.

Mr. DORSEY, of Arkansas. The proposition to divide this question may be entirely clear to the gentleman from Pennsylvania and



to the Committee on Credentials; but I venture the statement that there are not three delegates on this floor that understand the difference between the First district, the Seventh district and the Ninth district, and when you attempt to divide this question, you will have to go over again every district on the entire list.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair rules that the gentleman from Pennsylvania has a right to demand such a division of the question as to have a separate vote upon the First Congressional district of Illinois. The other question will be disposed of when it arises.

Mr. CLAYTON, of Arkansas. I offer the following amendment:

WHEREAS, It has been the uniform and long-continued practice and custom of the Republican party of the State of Illinois to send to the National Convention delegates chosen by their State convention; and

WHEREAS, The delegates now holding seats in this Convention from the First district of Illinois were regularly chosen in accordance with such uniform custom and practice; therefore

*Resolved*, That the report of the minority of the Committee on Credentials, so far as the same relates to said First district of Illinois, be substituted for that part of the report of the majority of said committee which relates to that district.

The PRESIDENT. That motion is in order.

On taking the question, the Chair being in doubt, a call of the roll was ordered.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 353, nays 387, as follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama.....	20	18	4	New York.....	70	47	22
Arkansas.....	12	12	...	North Carolina.....	20	19	1
California.....	12	...	12	Ohio.....	44	16	28
Colorado.....	6	6	...	Oregon.....	6	...	6
Connecticut.....	12	...	10	Pennsylvania.....	58	34	24
Delaware.....	6	...	6	Rhode Island.....	8	...	8
Florida.....	8	8	...	South Carolina.....	14	10	4
Georgia.....	22	6	16	Tennessee.....	24	16	8
Illinois.....	42	40	...	Texas.....	16	11	4
Indiana.....	30	5	25	Vermont.....	10	4	6
Iowa.....	22	...	22	Virginia.....	22	13	9
Kansas.....	10	...	...	West Virginia.....	10	...	10
Kentucky.....	24	21	3	Wisconsin.....	20	1	19
Louisiana.....	16	8	8	Arizona.....	2	...	2
Maine.....	14	...	14	Dakota.....	2	1	1
Maryland.....	16	8	8	District of Columbia..	2	1	1
Massachusetts.....	26	4	22	Idaho.....	2	...	2
Michigan.....	22	1	21	Montana.....	2	...	2
Minnesota.....	10	4	6	New Mexico.....	2	...	2
Mississippi.....	16	11	5	Utah.....	2	...	2
Missouri.....	30	29	1	Washington.....	2	...	2
Nebraska.....	6	...	6	Wyoming.....	2	1	1
Nevada.....	6	...	6				
New Hampshire.....	10	...	10				
New Jersey.....	18	...	18	Total.....	756	353	387

So the amendment was not agreed to.

During the vote :

On the call of the State of Kansas

Mr. PLUMB, of Kansas. *Mr. President*: The State of Kansas withholds its vote for the reason that the same question will come up in regard to this delegation, as is involved in the present case.

The vote was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the adoption of so much of the majority report as relates to the First district of Illinois. Is the Convention ready for the question ?

Mr. LOGAN. I ask that the roll of States be called.

The PRESIDENT. On that question the gentleman from Illinois demands a call of the roll by States, which the Chair will order. Gentlemen in favor of adopting so much of the majority report as relates to the First district of Illinois, will, as their States are called, vote aye; those opposed, no. Chairmen of the respective delegations will report the vote of their delegations.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 384, nays 356, as follows :

<i>States.</i>	<i>No. Del.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>No. Del.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Alabama .....	20	4	16	New York .....	70	22	47
Arkansas .....	12	...	12	North Carolina.....	20	1	19
California .....	12	12	...	Ohio .....	44	28	16
Colorado .....	6	...	6	Oregon .....	6	6	...
Connecticut .....	12	10	...	Pennsylvania .....	58	24	34
Delaware .....	6	6	...	Rhode Island.....	8	8	...
Florida .....	8	...	8	South Carolina.....	14	4	10
Georgia .....	22	16	6	Tennessee.....	24	8	16
Illinois .....	42	...	40	Texas .....	16	4	11
Indiana.....	30	25	5	Vermont.....	10	6	4
Iowa .....	22	22	...	Virginia.....	22	9	13
Kansas.....	10	...	...	West Virginia .....	10	10	...
Kentucky.....	24	8	21	Wisconsin .....	20	19	1
Louisiana .....	16	8	8	Arizona.....	2	2	...
Maine .....	14	14	...	Dakota .....	2	1	1
Maryland.....	16	8	8	District of Columbia..	2	1	1
Massachusetts .....	26	22	4	Idaho .....	2	2	...
Michigan.....	22	21	1	Montana.....	2	2	...
Minnesota.....	10	4	6	New Mexico.....	2	2	...
Mississippi.....	16	4	12	Utah .....	2	2	...
Missouri.....	30	1	29	Washington.....	2	2	...
Nebraska.....	6	6	...	Wyoming.....	2	1	1
Nevada.....	6	6	...				
New Hampshire.....	10	10	...	Totals .....	756	384	356
New Jersey.....	18	18	...				

So much of the majority report as related to the First district of Illinois was therefore adopted.

During the vote :

On the call of the State of Kansas

Mr. PLUMB, of Kansas. For the reason previously given, the Kansas delegation desires to withhold its vote.

The vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. CONGER. I now call for a vote on the remaining portion of the majority report.

The PRESIDENT. The question now arises upon the remaining portion of the majority report of the Committee on Credentials, relating to the State of Illinois.

Mr. LOGAN. I ask for a division of the question on that report.

The PRESIDENT. On what portion of the report does the gentleman from Illinois demand a separate vote?

Mr. LOGAN. The majority report now, as I understand it, is the same that we have voted on, except that it applies to all of the districts in gross. I ask a division of the question, so that the vote shall apply to each district separately.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. Let me suggest what will come to the same conclusion—that we take a vote upon the remainder of the report, with the understanding that the vote of Illinois may be cast as though it was for one district, so that she will have the benefit of the thirty-eight votes that she would throw on one district, but save the time of going over so many votes.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Illinois accept the suggestion?

Mr. LOGAN. Allow me to say this: It certainly is very important to the delegates here from Illinois that we have at least a fair record. I do not want the vote of Illinois recorded as a whole by any understanding where we would not have a right in honor to record it without an understanding. I want a separate vote, such as we would be entitled to in any deliberative body, where a member whose seat is contested will not vote, but those whose seats are not contested have a perfect right, according to parliamentary law, to vote. That is the reason why I do it. I do not want our votes recorded so that any criticism might be made upon them, and I ask this Convention at least to be fair enough with us to allow that to be done.

Mr. HALE. The gentleman undoubtedly has the right to the division.

Mr. LOGAN. That is what I want.

Mr. HALE. My suggestion was only in the interest of saving time, because, as each vote is taken, if a district is changed, two votes come in which presumably would vote the other way; but my proposition that we vote for the rest of the report gives Illinois the benefit of all the votes that she would cast now. Still, if the gentleman does not choose to accept it, we must sit here and vote it out.

Mr. LOGAN. Very well; it hurts you no more than it does us.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman asks for a separate vote on each district?

Mr. LOGAN. That is it, sir.

The PRESIDENT. On that question the call of the roll of the States is demanded, and the Chair will order it. Gentlemen in favor of the adoption of the majority report, so far as it relates to the contest in the Third district of Illinois, will, as their States are called, answer "aye;" those opposed will answer "no." The chairmen of the several delegations will respond for their States. The roll will be called.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 385, nays 353, as follows:

<i>States.</i>	<i>No. Del.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>No. Del.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Alabama.....	20	4	16	New York.....	70	22	47
Arkansas.....	12	...	12	North Carolina.....	20	1	19
California.....	12	12	...	Ohio.....	44	28	16
Colorado.....	6	6	...	Oregon.....	6	6	...
Connecticut.....	12	10	...	Pennsylvania.....	58	24	34
Delaware.....	6	6	...	Rhode Island.....	8	8	...
Florida.....	8	...	8	South Carolina.....	14	4	10
Georgia.....	22	16	6	Tennessee.....	24	8	16
Illinois.....	42	2	38	Texas.....	16	4	11
Indiana.....	30	25	5	Vermont.....	10	6	4
Iowa.....	22	22	...	Virginia.....	22	9	13
Kansas.....	10	...	...	West Virginia.....	10	10	...
Kentucky.....	24	3	21	Wisconsin.....	20	19	1
Louisiana.....	16	8	8	Arizona.....	2	2	...
Maine.....	14	14	...	Dakota.....	2	1	1
Maryland.....	16	8	8	District of Columbia...	2	1	1
Massachusetts.....	26	22	4	Idaho.....	2	2	...
Michigan.....	22	20	...	Montana.....	2	2	...
Minnesota.....	10	4	6	New Mexico.....	2	2	...
Mississippi.....	16	4	12	Utah.....	2	2	...
Missouri.....	30	1	29	Washington.....	2	2	...
Nebraska.....	6	6	...	Wyoming.....	2	1	1
Nevada.....	6	6	...				
New Hampshire.....	10	10	...	Total.....	756	385	353
New Jersey.....	18	18	...				

So much of the majority report as related to the Third district of Illinois was therefore adopted.

Mr. CONGER. I ask for a vote upon the remaining portion of the report, unless a separate vote shall be asked for. The remaining portion is as to the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth and Seventeenth districts of Illinois.

Mr. BRUCE, of Mississippi. [The hour being 1:50 a. m.] I move that the Convention adjourn until eleven o'clock this (Saturday) morning.

A DELEGATE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The PRESIDENT. That is not in order. The question is on the motion to adjourn till eleven o'clock this (Saturday) morning.

The motion to adjourn was not agreed to.

Mr. CONGER. If there be no division called for, I ask that the vote be taken on the remainder of the majority report relating to the State of Illinois.

The PRESIDENT. Is a division of the question called for?

Mr. LOGAN. I do not desire to interfere with the desire of the Convention to adjourn. I do not wish to keep the Convention here, but I want to show the world exactly the position we occupy. We will allow the Convention to take such action as it pleases with reference to our State. I have no motion to make.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that no further division will be demanded. Is the call of States demanded?

Mr. LOGAN. There is a point in one of these districts, not to detain the Convention by discussing it, that will merely be named when it comes up, and for that reason my colleagues ask me to still ask for a division of the question.

Mr. RAUM. We would like to have a separate vote on some districts.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman state the numbers of the districts on which he desires separate votes?

Mr. JONES, of Illinois. The colleagues of Gen. Logan ask that you take these districts *seriatim*, one at a time.

Mr. RAUM. We will be content to take a separate vote on the Thirteenth district. You may have a vote on all the other districts.

Mr. METCALF, of Illinois. I want a separate vote on my (the Seventeenth) district.

Mr. ROWETT, of Illinois. I want a separate vote on that district, and will have it. I want the people in my district to know what has been done here.

A DELEGATE from Illinois. I will be content to have a vote on my district.

The PRESIDENT. Which district?

The DELEGATE. The Fourth district.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on so much of the majority report as relates to the Fourth district of Illinois.

Mr. LOGAN. I ask for a call of the roll.

The PRESIDENT. The roll will be called.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 388, nays 351, as follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama.....	20	4	16	New York.....	70	22	47
Arkansas.....	12	...	12	North Carolina.....	20	1	19
California.....	12	12	...	Ohio.....	44	28	16
Colorado.....	6	...	6	Oregon.....	6	6	...
Connecticut.....	12	11	...	Pennsylvania.....	58	24	34
Delaware.....	6	6	...	Rhode Island.....	8	8	...
Florida.....	8	...	8	South Carolina.....	14	4	10
Georgia.....	22	16	6	Tennessee.....	24	8	16
Illinois.....	42	4	36	Texas.....	16	4	11
Indiana.....	30	25	5	Vermont.....	10	6	4
Iowa.....	22	22	...	Virginia.....	22	9	13
Kansas.....	10	...	...	West Virginia.....	10	10	...
Kentucky.....	24	8	21	Wisconsin.....	20	19	1
Louisiana.....	16	8	8	Arizona.....	2	2	...
Maine.....	14	14	...	Dakota.....	2	1	1
Maryland.....	16	8	8	District of Columbia...	2	1	1
Massachusetts.....	26	22	4	Idaho.....	2	2	...
Michigan.....	22	20	...	Montana.....	2	2	...
Minnesota.....	10	4	6	New Mexico.....	2	2	...
Mississippi.....	16	4	12	Utah.....	2	2	...
Missouri.....	30	1	29	Washington.....	2	2	...
Nebraska.....	6	6	...	Wyoming.....	2	1	1
Nevada.....	6	6	...				
New Hampshire.....	10	10	...				
New Jersey.....	18	18	...				
				Total.....	756	388	351

So much of the majority report as related to the Fourth district of Illinois was therefore adopted.

Mr. METCALF, of Illinois. On behalf of the Illinois delegation I wish to say that we are willing to allow a vote to be taken on the rest of the report.

The PRESIDENT. The call for a division of the question is withdrawn.

The question then being upon the adoption of so much of the majority report relating to the State of Illinois as remained undisposed of, it was adopted.

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. I now move that the Convention adjourn until eleven o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was agreed to.

So at two o'clock and twenty minutes a. m. the Convention adjourned to eleven o'clock this (Saturday) morning.

---

#### FOURTH DAY—SATURDAY, June 5, 1880—11 A. M.

Pursuant to adjournment the Convention met.

The PRESIDENT. Prayer will be offered by the Rev. John R. Paxton, of Washington.

The Rev. Mr. Paxton offered the following

##### PRAYER:

*Let us unite in prayer.* O God, ordainer of all things, mighty sustainer of all Thy creatures, we begin this day with thankful acknowledgment of Thy mercies. We commend unto Thy favor and grace the members of this Convention. Rule, we pray Thee, in all its counsels, guide all its deliberations, declare through its vote for the wisest, for the truest, for the best man to lead this great party in the contest that awaits it. Forbid, O God, that the cry of passion should be louder here than the calm voice of duty. Forbid, O God, that prejudice should warp judgment and compromise principle. Forbid that personal preference should impair or imperil the peace, the harmony, the enthusiasm, the unity of purpose, and the fidelity to trust of this Convention. Teach these men that they be brethren, and teach them all that the cause they represent, the principles they advocate, the interests at stake, the ends to be secured are vastly greater and more important than the success of any man in the race for the nomination. Hear us now, O God, and help us; and may the work of this day be done wisely and be

done well; and may the Divine Providence shape all the ends of the Convention, its decisions, its policy, its platform and its candidate. We ask in Jesus' name. Amen

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary, before proceeding to business, will read for the information of the Convention a communication from some of the railroads.

#### RAILROAD TICKETS.

The SECRETARY, Mr. Clisbee. The following railroads have authorized me to announce that the excursion tickets will be good for one day after the adjournment of the Convention: The Michigan Central, Great Western, Chicago and West Michigan, Chicago and Alton, Chicago and Northwestern, and Grand Trunk railways.

#### METHOD OF ELECTION OF DELEGATES.

Mr. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts. I send to the Chair a resolution, which I trust will be agreed to by the Convention, and ask that it may be read by the Secretary.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read for information.

The Secretary read as follows :

*Resolved*, That the National Republican Executive Committee be and it is hereby instructed to prescribe a method or methods for the election of delegates to the National Convention, to be held in 1884, to announce the same to the country, and to issue the call for that Convention in conformity therewith.

The PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the presentation of the resolution?

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that the pending business before the Convention is the completion of the disposition of the report of the Committee on Credentials. The resolution of the gentleman from Massachusetts will be entertained, if at all, by unanimous consent. Does the gentleman rise to object?

Mr. HALE. I wish to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts to lay down here distinctly whether he makes it apply to the National Committee or the National Executive Committee. There is a distinction. The *Executive* Committee is a branch of, or a committee within, the National Committee. I think it ought to apply to all the committees.

Mr. BOUTWELL. Strike out the word "executive," then.

Mr. HALE. That is right.

The PRESIDENT. If there is no objection the question will be stated upon the resolution. It will be read again for information.

Mr. CONGER. I shall object to taking up anything that leads to debate. I call for the regular order which the Convention has adopted in regard to the report of the Committee on Credentials.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Michigan calls for the regular order.

Mr. BOUTWELL. I, then, give notice that, at the earliest moment the rules of the Convention will allow, I shall ask for its consideration.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Massachusetts immediately after the disposition of the present order,

if he shall rise for the purpose. The question before the Convention is upon so much of the majority report of the Committee as relates to the State of Kansas.

## RAILROAD TICKETS.

Mr. WARNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. WARNER. I want to make a suggestion. Many of the delegates are uneasy about return tickets, and I suggest that the Convention pass a resolution asking the Chairman and Secretary to communicate with the railroads, that the time may be extended at least three days beyond the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. A portion of the railroads have already directed a communication to be made to the Convention, which has been read. The Chair, without a formal order of the Convention, will direct the Sergeant-at-Arms to make that request of the railroads in behalf of all the members of the Convention, no objection being made.

## THE KANSAS CASE.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. *Mr. President:* The case submitted to the Convention I will state in a few words, and the recommendation of the Committee. The Committee recommend the admission as delegates from the Second district of Kansas of T. C. Sears and S. A. Day, and from the Third district Thomas J. Anderson and John W. Steele, and that the ten present sitting members be allowed to retain their seats and to cast six votes among them. The case is simply this: At a State convention held in Kansas, by one resolution ten delegates were elected to the National Convention—by the same resolution. They were assigned by agreement four to one district, three to another, and three to another, without designating which were delegates-at-large. Subsequently, on notice in the convention, district conventions were held in two of these districts, and the delegates to those two districts elected the two district delegations which I have read to this Convention. Now, Mr. President, this resolution gives seats to the two delegates of each of the conventions elected by the district delegates assembled in convention. The Committee were of opinion that, under the rule and principle they had adopted, they should be entitled to seats, but the Committee could not say whose seats they should occupy or who should be unseated, because there was no distinction made in the general resolution of delegates-at-large and delegates from the districts, and therefore the Committee recommend that the district delegates be admitted in the two districts where they were chosen, and cast each one a vote, but that the ten delegates remain in their seats and between them cast six votes.

Mr. BATEMAN, of Ohio. I move that the debate be limited to thirty minutes—fifteen minutes on each side.

Mr. PLUMB, of Kansas. I desire to modify that motion so that it may better express the desire of the delegates from Kansas as to the matter of time. I would suggest to the gentleman from Ohio that he extend the time to forty minutes, as was done yesterday, giving us twenty minutes to each side. With that I think no injustice will be done to any one. I do not believe that anybody will talk for the purpose of hearing himself talk, but we certainly need more time than thirty minutes. The principle to be settled in this case is just as vital as the one that was acted on yesterday.



The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Ohio accept the modification?

Mr. BATEMAN. Certainly, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The modification is accepted. The gentleman from Ohio moves that the debate on the Kansas case be limited to forty minutes—twenty minutes of which may be occupied by each side.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PLUMB. *Mr. President:* After the vote of yesterday upon a similar question affecting a portion of the delegation from Illinois, it may be perhaps argument after the fact; but, nevertheless, there is due, not alone to the sitting delegates from the State of Kansas, but to the State convention which sent them here, and to the people who chose the delegates which constituted that State convention, that there should be presented to the National Republican Convention a statement of the facts and of the theories upon which the regular delegates appear and have so far participated in the proceedings of this body.

There are two theories in regard to this case, as in regard to the other cases that have been decided. One is that the call of the National Committee was directed to the State, and that under that call the State, through such instrumentalities as had been invoked theretofore, or as it might adopt, should proceed to the choice of the number of delegates required by the call to represent it in this body; and that to settle and determine that case we must consider not only the line of action in the given case, but the previous practice, if there had been any, in similar cases within the State.

The other theory is that the call was directed to the districts within the State, ignoring the State, except so far as it related to the choice of delegates-at-large.

The State convention, which sent to this Convention the delegates who have been and are now sitting upon this floor, proceeded upon the first theory. They did so because that was in accordance with the previous practice of the State. They did so because that practice, and that idea, was strengthened by the analogy which runs through all this business of electing a President. They knew that when Kansas was called in the Electoral College it was not called for votes by districts, but it was called to cast its entire vote as a State. And they knew, and took some pride in knowing, that when Kansas had made utterance there would be no doubt as to what her position was.

Following that analogy, the State committee issued a call for a State convention. That call distinctly stated that the Republican electors of the several counties, upon an apportionment therein named, should proceed to elect delegates to the State convention, whose function, when assembled, should be the choice of ten delegates for the State of Kansas in the National Republican Convention. The only thing in the call about districts was that the committee proceeded to advise the State convention, or recommended to it when it had assembled, that in choosing delegates it should choose two from each one of the territorial subdivisions known in the State as Congressional districts. There was no recognition in the call whatever of the function or of the power of a Congressional district, as such, to choose delegates to the State convention, or to this Convention, nor of any right to such district to interfere with the proceedings of the Convention in any way whatever; but the

call was for the choice and assembling of a single body of men for one particular purpose and acting for the accomplishment of one end, namely: the nominating and electing of ten men who should represent the united voice of the State of Kansas in this Convention.

In response to that call, Mr. President, every county in the State sent delegates to Topeka, who there assembled as a State convention, organized in a regular way, and proceeded under the call to the election of ten delegates upon one ticket, recognizing none of the districts as such, and making no distinction between one delegate and another, in the way of designating one as at large and the other from a district; but in fact apportioning the delegates, according to the recommendation of the State committee, among the several districts in proportion to their population: that is to say, among those territorial subdivisions which were known and recognized as Congressional districts.

The same convention, in pursuance of the further mandate of the State committee, proceeded to and did choose five electors, upon whom will devolve the duty, as it will be their pleasure, to cast the unanimous vote of the State of Kansas, backed by at least 60,000 majority, for the candidates who shall be nominated here.

Up to 1876 the State of Kansas never had had separate Congressional districts. It had in itself constituted only one district, because at the time of the first apportionment, by which three members of Congress had been assigned to it, the Legislature was not in session to create the districts within which these several members of Congress should be chosen, and so all the States had met together to nominate candidates for members of Congress in the same manner that it did in March last, for the purpose of nominating members of the National Republican Convention.

In 1876 a State convention was called for the purpose of choosing delegates to represent the State in the National Republican Convention at Cincinnati. The delegates were all chosen on one ticket, as at the Convention of 1880, except that certain delegates from the districts assembled together, and made an informal recommendation of certain persons or delegates to the Cincinnati Convention, which recommendation was acted upon to the extent that the convention chose such persons as part of the delegation to represent the State at Cincinnati.

When the convention of 1880 assembled, every delegate took part in the organization. The convention divided in the choice of a presiding officer. The division was upon the line of preference concerning the Presidential nomination. The prevailing party then proceeded to select the ten delegates who are now upon this floor, and the other party, some of them, participated in the election, and some of them simply declined to vote. Prior, however, to this naming of the ten delegates, a caucus of a portion of the delegates from the Second district and also a similar caucus from the Third district of the State got together and recommended to the State convention, each one of them, two candidates, to be placed upon the ticket by the convention. The convention declined to accede to that recommendation, and the persons who are here to-day contesting are the persons who were thus recommended for candidates before the action of the convention had taken place.

Mr. President, if the opinion prevail, and it be determined here that the call was directed to the districts, and not to the State, except

so far as the delegates-at-large are concerned, I desire now to call the attention of the Convention specifically to the fact that no delegate appeared at that State convention in response to anything but the mandate of the State committee. There is in each one of the Congressional districts of that State a complete Congressional district organization, in the shape of a committee, having a "local habitation and a name," and having a function with reference to district matters. But these committees never acted. No delegates ever came together in convention in any one of these districts summoned by the authorities of his district. No one ever participated in the election of a delegate here except delegates who came together under the call of the State committee, commanded to appear and represent the Republicans of that State in a State convention to choose ten men to come here; and it seems to me, Mr. President, that in all fairness, and according to the rule which should govern in all deliberative bodies, and especially in bodies which are removed from the people, especially in bodies which cannot be supposed to concern themselves with the details of local organization, the call of the committee should be regarded as the organic command, as the law of the assemblage, and that any person who acts outside of that should be nothing else than simply a member of the body politic—the general body of the State—and that therefore those men who came in compliance with this call and this demand came there as delegates to a State convention, and that, except for the purpose of discharging the functions as such delegates, they had no power any more than any others of the 200,000 voters of the State of Kansas who may have voluntarily assembled anywhere for the purpose of electing delegates to this Convention. While I am on that, I want to say this: That there is no question but what those persons who are here contesting are men who are in every practical sense, in every proper sense, representative men of their respective localities. They are just as the balance of us, no better and no worse than the 100,000 Republican voters of the State of Kansas; and, if they are entitled to seats here, then I submit that any mass meeting of the Republican electors of any fraction of the State of Kansas would equally be entitled to recognition in this Convention.

Mr. President, the first theory announced is the one upon which the State proceeded. We claim, as I said, that we come here in response to the demand of the State, that that State convention acted within the purview of the rule which had previously been established, and that no other persons come here representing in any sense any legal body called together for the purpose of electing delegates to this Convention. I am willing to concede, as I do, that there was no doubt whatever that in the Second district the majority of the persons who had been chosen from the counties composing that district as delegates to that State convention met together and recommended to the State convention the choice of two of the contesting delegates now here; but such recommendation did not even purport to be a choice of a delegate to this Convention. In regard to the Third district, while I have always believed the fact to be otherwise, inasmuch as the Committee has found it to be a fact that a majority of the delegates from that district had concurred, either before or after the action of the State convention, in nominating for a similar purpose two of the persons who are here, I admit for the sake of this argument that that finding is true and may be so taken here in the consideration of this case. Let me say, sir, in regard to this matter, that there not only is no personal feeling between the

sitting delegates and the contestants here, but that all is in perfect accord. While we differ primarily about the question of who shall be nominated for President here, we are one in accord upon the proposition that that man shall be the one who, in the judgment of a majority of this body, shall best be able to carry the Republican party to victory next fall. I may say further, in regard to that matter, that, as there is personally no ill-will, there is no other feature in it except the determination of this one question as to how the State of Kansas ought to have proceeded under the call of the National Committee, viewing not merely the call by itself, but in connection therewith the previous action of the State. That is the only question that is to be decided here. I simply say that whatever the rule may be for the future, however the judgment of the Republicans of the United States may be as to what shall prevail hereafter, a rule should not now be made which should operate in an *ex post facto* manner; that we should have the benefit, in a Republican convention, of our own precedents, and what we believe to be in our State conventions the fair intent and meaning of the call of the National Committee. I may say further, that the cases cited by the gentleman from Ohio yesterday as to the action of his State are not all parallel, and I am as proud of the independence of the Republican voters of that State as he is. I was one of them myself once. I know about as much, I think, as any one need to know about the practice in that State. I know that it differs entirely, and always has differed, from the practice that has obtained in Kansas. In Ohio, the districts elect their delegates themselves, independent of the State convention and independent of the machinery of that convention. The districts elect delegates to perform two things, to wit: to go to the State convention and *assist* in choosing four delegates-at-large, and to choose, acting in their separate capacity as district delegates, acting directly for the district, the two persons to represent that Congressional district in the National Convention. I beg this Convention to note that there is no parallel whatever between these two cases as matter of fact; because in the case in Ohio, as in Massachusetts and these other States where they have this town-meeting idea in regard to things, which they now seek to apply to communities where this practice does not apply—I say their proceeding is different from ours. We have not elected—never have elected—men whose functions were solely and only, or even partially, to be members of a district convention for the election of two delegates to represent that district in National Convention. In Ohio, under the practice also, when these district delegates are nominated, their names are certified to the State convention, which as a matter purely of form and convenience certifies or ratifies the action of the district, and the persons so named are put upon the roll of the delegates from the State of Ohio; but their functions were given to them by the districts themselves acting separately, and the action of the State convention gives them no vitality whatever—which is an entirely different case from the one under consideration.

As I said, there is no personal controversy in this, neither is there, practically, any political controversy. We contend, simply, for a rule of action we believe to be right. Whomever you put in, or whomever you take out, it makes no difference with the loyalty of Kansas. A State, Mr. President, which fought to get into a Union, then supposed to be trembling on the verge of destruction, and fought to maintain it after it got in, is not going to give up the principles of Republican liberty now.

The PRESIDENT. The time allotted to the side represented by the gentleman who has just taken his seat has exactly expired.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. I rise to ask if there are two reports from the Committee, on the State of Kansas?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will call upon the Chairman of the Committee to answer that question.

Mr. CONGER. I do not know that there was a minority report, but the Committee was divided upon the question. I cannot say whether the minority report includes Kansas or not.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. Allow me to say there is no minority report in this case from any member of the Committee.

Mr. HOUCK. I desire to ask another question. How many Congressional districts are there in the State of Kansas?

Mr. CONGER. Three.

Mr. HOUCK. How are these delegates apportioned between the three districts?

Mr. CONGER. Four to one and three to each of the others, by the resolution of the convention appointing the ten.

Mr. HOUCK. Then the State convention did not, in the selection of these delegates, conform to the call of the National Committee by appointing four for the State-at-large and two from each Congressional district. Am I right?

Mr. CONGER. Not designating them separately.

Mr. HOUCK. Then, as I understand the report of the Committee on Credentials, the State convention of Kansas selected ten delegates, all as though they were selected for the State-at-large, without regard to districts; or, rather, they apportioned three to one, four to another, and two to another?

Mr. CONGER. Three to another.

Mr. HOUCK. Three to another.

Mr. CONGER. The State convention, for all that appeared before the Committee, gave four delegates to one district, that being the largest one, and three to each of the others. It is but fair to presume that two of those in the district where there were four were intended for delegates-at-large, but they were not separated or designated. I desire now to add one word—

Mr. HOUCK. One word more. Does the report of the Committee proceed upon the idea that the State convention transcended its authority in not following the call and assigning the delegates to the districts as provided in that call?

Mr. CONGER. Not at all. In one district there was no separate District Delegate convention, as it is called. In two there were, on notice given by the chairman of the convention in open convention. Two districts met, and the Committee find that a majority of the delegates in the two districts elected the two persons reported severally for those districts as the delegates-at-large. On that there was no dispute in the Committee. My friend from Kansas [Mr. Plumb] merely says that they only met and designated men to be nominated. It is merely a way of giving force to it.

Mr. HOUCK. I desire to say this: I understand the Chair to announce that the time allotted to the side on which the gentleman from Kansas addressed the Convention has expired. The remaining time belongs to the opposition. I would like to make a few observations on this question, and yet I am unable to say that I am against the gentleman from Kansas or that I am for him.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is of the opinion that the gentleman must be on one side or the other in order to come within the ruling of the Convention as to time.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. Does the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Houck] move to amend the rule by adding that five or ten minutes be given to any gentleman who is on neither side, or who is on both sides? [Laughter.]

Mr. HOUCK. I am so well acquainted with the fairness and impartiality of my distinguished friend from Michigan, that I am satisfied he will yield me a couple of minutes to ascertain as to which side of this question I am on.

Mr. CONGER. Not for the compliment, but to enable the gentleman to fix his mind and ascertain upon which side he is.

Mr. HOUCK. I think my mind is fixed after the suggestion of the gentleman.

Mr. CONGER. I yield to him.

Mr. HOUCK. I desire to say this: that if it were an original question, I should be in favor of so construing the Electoral College, and so conforming party usage to that construction and organization of the Government as to select delegates to the National Convention from Congressional districts; but I understand the convention and delegate system is assimilated to that of the Electoral College, by which the electoral vote of a State is secured by a united and joint ticket from one end of the State to the other, comprising all the districts. As long as that policy obtains, and we adhere to the present electoral system, and the convention and delegate system is assimilated to that, I hold that the delegates to a National Convention should be selected through the same forms, the same methods that the electoral vote is cast in the State—all parts of the State to be heard. But, Mr. President, I shall locate myself now, in this exceptional case, inasmuch as the State convention failed to follow the call of the National Committee—failed to select two delegates from each district and four from the State-at-large (and there being no minority report), by voting for the report as it comes from the Committee; but by that vote I do not intend to signify that I would yield the right of the party in the State—as the electoral vote is either a unit or nothing at all in the State—to select these delegates to a National Convention, assimilated as they are to the Electoral College.

A DELEGATE from Michigan. *Mr. President—*

Mr. PLUMB. I rise to a point of order.

Mr. BATEMAN, of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Kansas rises to a point of order. Will he please state the point?

Mr. PLUMB. The order of the convention was that the Kansas men were to fight this out, and I submit we have a right to continue until we are through before we are interrupted by others. The contestants in this State desire to be heard.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair presumes the gentleman from Michigan rises to address the Convention in support of the report of the Committee on the Kansas case. Is not that so?

The DELEGATE. That is so.

Mr. PLUMB. Then I make this inquiry: Is that to come out of the time which has been allotted by the Convention to the parties to this controversy?

A DELEGATE. Certainly it is.

Mr. PLUMB. Does it come out of our side?

**The President.** The Chair does not understand that the order of the Convention requires the Chair, as a matter of right, to prefer in the allotment of the floor a party to the controversy; but the Chair presumes that the courtesy of the delegates will induce them to give the preference to the persons immediately interested.

**Mr. BATEMAN.** I do not rise for the purpose of renewing a discussion in which I participated in the first case presented. I do so only at the request of the contestants in this case, and not of my own motion. Mr. President, I think that the facts in this case have been pretty fairly stated to the Convention, and I may be indulged in a brief summary of them. Kansas is divided into three districts. It so happens that in one of these districts the persons holding to a certain Presidential preference—it does not make any difference what—were very largely in the majority, whilst the opposite side held small majorities in the remaining districts. The convention was called, and delegates were appointed to it, and in that convention they selected a committee for the purpose of nominating delegates to the National Convention. Those delegates were apportioned four to one district in which the large majority was placed, and three to the remaining two districts. That committee reported by resolution. Immediately upon its being offered, the previous question was put. No chance was given to the other side or to the remaining two districts to present their candidates to the convention. But the previous question was sustained, and the resolution was carried by the majority of the one district over the small majorities of the other two. As to the other two districts, the delegates met in separate convention and selected their own two representatives, intending to present them to the convention, and intending to propose them as substitutes for the persons that may have been or might be selected by the committee. But, by the application of the previous question, even that opportunity was cut off. Now, Mr. President, this is clearly a case coming within the application of the principle that has been so decisively sustained by this Convention from the outset of its action upon this report. I do not believe in the right of a powerful majority in one locality to overrule and control votes by means of the State conventions, or otherwise, in other localities. The Republican party of the United States has been compelled to contemplate with sorrow and disgust the spectacle renewed year after year in the great State of New York, where the overwhelming majority under the lead of Tammany—that organization of political janizaries, under “Boss” Tweed and John Kelly—has been able to overrule the glorious Republican communities north of Harlem bridge. I do not want to see the tactics of Tammany Hall kept up and maintained in the Republican party anywhere. And I do not intend to vote for it.

It was upon that principle that I voted for this report. It was to secure a fair representation to these two districts that have thus been overborne. Even a chance to be heard in the convention was denied by the harsh application of the previous question.

Mr. President, I do not know but this is all that it may be proper or necessary for me to say in behalf of the contestants. It is their whole case. It is merely an attempt to secure Congressional district representation in this Convention, according to the rule upon which it is constituted in the call made for it by the National Executive Committee.

**Mr. CONGER.** *Mr. President:* I now call for a vote on the question.  
**The President.** The question is on the adoption of the report.

A DELEGATE. I ask that the roll be called.

The PRESIDENT. The roll will be called. All those in favor of the adoption of the report of the majority of the Committee, so far as it relates to the State of Kansas, will, as their States are called, vote "aye" through the several Chairmen of the delegations. All opposed will vote "no."

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 476, nays 184, as follows:

	No. Del.	Ay.	No.		No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama.....	20	5	15	New York.....	70	22	...
Arkansas.....	12	...	12	North Carolina.....	20	20	...
California.....	12	12	...	Ohio.....	44	44	...
Colorado.....	6	...	6	Oregon.....	6	6	...
Connecticut.....	12	12	...	Pennsylvania.....	58	25	33
Delaware.....	6	6	...	Rhode Island.....	8	8	...
Florida.....	8	...	8	South Carolina.....	14	8	11
Georgia.....	22	22	...	Tennessee.....	24	8	16
Illinois.....	42	18	24	Texas.....	16	4	11
Indiana.....	30	27	3	Vermont.....	10	9	1
Iowa.....	22	22	...	Virginia.....	22	11	2
Kansas.....	10	5	5	West Virginia.....	10	10	...
Kentucky.....	24	4	20	Wisconsin.....	20	19	1
Louisiana.....	16	16	...	Arizona.....	2	2	...
Maine.....	14	14	...	Dakota.....	2	1	1
Maryland.....	16	11	5	District of Columbia..	2	1	1
Massachusetts.....	26	24	1	Idaho.....	2	2	...
Michigan.....	22	21	1	Montana.....	2	2	...
Minnesota.....	10	5	4	New Mexico.....	2	2	...
Mississippi.....	16	7	2	Utah.....	2	2	...
Missouri.....	30	1	...	Washington.....	2	2	...
Nebraska.....	6	6	...	Wyoming.....	2	1	1
Nevada.....	6	6	...				
New Hampshire.....	10	10	...	Totals.....	756	476	184
New Jersey.....	18	18	...				

So much of the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials as related to the State of Kansas was therefore adopted.

#### THE WEST VIRGINIA CASE.

The PRESIDENT. The next question before the Convention is that portion of the report of the majority which relates to the State of West Virginia.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. The case is that of the Third Congressional district of West Virginia. The report of the Committee is very brief, and I will read it to the Convention:

"In the Third Congressional district the Committee recommend that the sitting members, Z. D. Ramsdell and L. A. Martin, be allowed to retain their seats. The seats of these delegates were contested by J. W. Davis and John H. Rossler, on the ground that they were duly elected by the District sub-convention, but there is a controversy whether they actually received the votes of a majority of the delegates to the State convention from the Congressional district, and



the Committee find that fact is not proven. The contestants claim that there was a meeting of delegates of the Third Congressional district, and that at that meeting they were elected delegates to the National Convention as district delegates." There is no question but that there was called on the evening of the day of the convention a district convention. There is no question but that some of the delegates from that convention were present. It was disputed, and in the opinion of the majority of the Committee it was proven that there was not present a majority of the delegates of the district.

The difficulty, Mr. President, consists in this: According to the custom in West Virginia each delegate was entitled to cast one vote in the State convention, or in the district convention, for each twenty-five Republican votes of some preceding election. It was claimed, and, in the opinion of the majority of the Committee, proven, that there was not in that district convention a majority, either of the delegates or of the votes represented by those delegates in that district. The only point, therefore, which the majority have to report, is that under this claim they find that there was not a majority of the delegates from the Third Congressional district present in the sub-convention or in the delegate convention, and therefore that there was not a majority of the delegates, or of the votes they were entitled to cast, cast for these contestants. Otherwise the majority of the Committee, following the rule which they have adopted, would have recommended the contestants to their seats.

Mr. CLAYTON, of Arkansas. I offer the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the report of the minority, as relates to the contest in West Virginia, be substituted for that portion of the majority report relating to the same."

It is not my intention to discuss this question; another gentleman will do so.

Mr. RAUM, of Illinois. *Mr. President*: I should like to hear that part of the minority report read which relates to West Virginia. It is very brief, and I will state before the reading of that report, as one of the members of that Committee, that I assisted in the examination of that case. I state deliberately, to this Convention, that it stands precisely on all-fours with the Illinois case and the Kansas case; and as this Convention has seated the contesting delegates from Illinois and those from Kansas, it is proper also to seat those contesting delegates from West Virginia.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will direct so much of the minority report to be read.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

"The minority wish to call the attention of the Convention especially to the contest in West Virginia. We insist that it stands, in respect to principle and facts, precisely upon the same grounds as the contests in Illinois, Alabama and Kansas. The contestants were selected as delegates by the caucus (or 'convention,' as characterized by the majority) of the Congressional delegation in attendance upon the State convention. Their names were reported to the convention. The State convention refused to give them credentials to this Convention, but selected other delegates, upon the ground that the contestants, although properly representing the sentiments of their constituents, were not in accord with the majority of the State convention.

"The minority insist that, if the report of the majority in respect to the Illinois, Alabama and Kansas cases is adopted, the contestants from West Virginia should also be admitted to seats in this Convention in place of the sitting delegates."

Mr. CODMAN, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. EASTON, of New York. I move that the debate on the question be limited to thirty minutes.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is not in order at this time, the gentleman from Massachusetts having the floor.

Mr. CODMAN. *Mr. President*: I had the honor of being a member of your Committee on Credentials, and I have acted with that Committee. I have come to the conclusion to which they have come, that the district, wherever it determines or desires representation in the National Convention, shall have it accorded. I have been consistent with that in my votes all through. The Convention has supported that view of the question, and I ask the Convention to support it now, although the Committee on Credentials in this case, and in this case alone, has refused to support it. Why, gentlemen, these contestants were elected by their districts, and, because they were not satisfactory to the State convention, the report of the district delegates stating that they had been elected was rejected by that convention, and two other persons, the sitting members, substituted in their places. Why the Committee came to this conclusion I cannot imagine, unless it be that we heard this case about four o'clock in the morning when a great many of us were tired. Some of us may have been asleep, and some of us were absent. Now, I submit to the Convention, that we are bound by our own precedents. I hold that the National Convention has a right to make and to establish precedents; and having decided in the case of Alabama, and in the case of Illinois, and in the case of Kansas, that districts shall be represented when district delegates have been chosen, they are bound in this case to seat the contestants and to reject the report of the Committee.

I say further, Mr. President, that the question was raised long after these events, as to whether the districts had met and chosen delegates. It was not raised at the time. It was acquiesced in then. A majority of the district reported the names of their delegates to the convention. There was no question then that they had not been fairly elected. It was assumed that they had been, and an attempt was made to unseat them by adopting the minority report, which was successful in that convention. But it is idle to talk about a question of fact. I hold in my hand a statement, which I do not believe will be denied, that in those counties that represented that district, which we are discussing to-day, there were 308 regular votes. They were counties casting, had they been fully represented, 308 votes; and the other counties, had they been fully represented, would have cast 174 votes; and the county that represented the 308 votes voted for these contestants. I do not think that will be denied.

Now, sir, I do not stand here to help any candidate. We of this delegation have no candidate, but we care for the honor of the Republican party. I ask you, as honorable men, wholly regardless of candidates, to reject the report of the Committee in this instance and to seat these contesting delegates.

Mr. HAGANS, of West Virginia. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. CONGER. On the time of the contestants I wish to say an additional word. Then I will leave the discussion.

The PRESIDENT. There is no time limited.

Mr. CONGER. Will the gentleman [Mr. Hagans] allow me to make a remark?

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman yield to the Chairman of the Committee?

Mr. HAGANS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CONGER. *Mr. President:* As Chairman of the Committee, I have stated the action of the majority of the Committee. I have felt it my duty, acting in that capacity, to state to this Convention just what the majority directed me to say. It is due to myself personally, perhaps, if it is of importance enough, to say that the Committee were nearly evenly divided upon the question, and that my own personal convictions, and those of some other members, may not have been represented by the majority report of this Committee. But fidelity to my duty as Chairman required me to present the views of the majority as they were expressed, and I endeavored to do so faithfully. The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. Hagans], himself a delegate from that State, and himself a delegate on the Committee of Credentials, will explain these matters more and better than I can.

Mr. HAGANS. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Codman], who spoke a few minutes ago on this subject, may have been asleep at the hour of four o'clock in the morning when we of that Committee were examining the case of West Virginia; and, judging from his own statement of the facts in the case, I am sure I am inclined to think he was asleep. [Laughter.] Why, sir, he has totally misconceived the case. He was either asleep or has misstated it now. What are the facts? The sitting delegates, Messrs. Martin and Ramsdell, were elected by a district convention held on the same day that we held our State convention in West Virginia. They were reported to the State convention, and the action of the district committee was ratified by the State convention, and the majority of all those participating were satisfied when these two identical gentlemen were elected by that district convention. They have the best credentials, or as good credentials as any gentleman representing any State on this floor. It is the custom, the usage and the practice of West Virginia Republicans to call a State convention to nominate delegates to the National Convention. We did so. After the State convention organizes, provides its various committees on organization and its basis of representation, and other matters, it generally takes a recess of two or three hours, in order to enable the district delegates to meet in the afternoon at separate places, and nominate delegates to the National Convention, to be reported to the State convention. That course was pursued on the twelfth of May, when we held our State convention, and these two gentlemen, Messrs. Ramsdell and Martin, were elected by their district convention, and afterwards were ratified by the State convention. Now, let me tell you one thing further, because it would seem very strange to the gentlemen, after making such a statement as that, why there was a contest at all.

A DELEGATE. How did it happen there was any contest?

Mr. HAGANS. I will make an explanation. I know gentlemen might reasonably expect to make an inquiry of that kind after the statement I have made regarding these two members. The difficulty arises just here: There was a difference of opinion among the dele-

gates in that district. They differed as to the choice of Presidential aspirants, if I may make use of such an expression; and held a convention, and by some fortuitous circumstance (I know not what, for I was far away, attending to affairs in my own district—the Second Congressional district) they separated, and one district convention was held in a room at the hotel, and the other in a room at the Republican headquarters. The two gentlemen who are the sitting members, and whom the majority report recommends shall be entitled to seats on the floor, were the gentlemen elected at the convention held at the Republican headquarters. This question, and this alone, was submitted at the meeting of the Committee on that given state of facts, because the Committee had passed on the question of district representation long before the case of West Virginia was reached. Here they stood. Which were the district delegates was the question for the Committee to determine. The contestants said *they* were. The sitting members said "*We* are." Now to the law and the testimony. The sitting members produced an affidavit, which I hold in my hand now, in which they say that in their meeting various or sundry counties were represented—I will not read the names. They are familiar Virginia names. "Braxton" they give as one name, "Lincoln" (so named since the War) as another; "Mason," another, and the names of other heroes of the State or Nation. It is not worth while to read them. They say that the counties represented were entitled, according to the basis of representation fixed by the State conventions, to 370 votes—that they represented in that convention 370 votes, being a majority of all the votes to which the Third Congressional district was entitled in said convention, under the basis of representation adopted by the State convention; because when we first meet in the State convention we adopt then and there the basis of representation, and complete our organization before these delegates meet in district convention. Now, I think I have stated that whole case. The whole question for this Committee to decide was, which of the gentlemen represented the majority? These gentlemen produce an affidavit to that effect, signed by four gentlemen, some of them delegates and some of them not; and it is sworn to under seal. The other gentlemen produce no affidavits whatever.

MR. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

MR. HAGANS. Certainly.

MR. BUTTERWORTH. Does the gentleman understand that it was agreed between the contestants and the contestees that the proceedings of the State and district conventions, as reported in the daily press of Wheeling, were to be accepted as presenting a fair and correct statement of what took place in the State and district conventions in the several districts?

MR. HAGANS. I do not know how that is, but I am informed by a member of the Committee on Credentials, who sits near me, that it was not.

MR. BUTTERWORTH. I so understood it.

MR. HAGANS. Perhaps they did so, but I do not think it changes the record in the least.

MR. BUTTERWORTH. I understand that the report showed that the contestants received in their district convention, so called, a decided majority of the votes of the district, and it was so reported to the State convention. I may be in error, but I so understood it from the delegation.

Mr. HAGANS. I take pleasure in making an explanation to the gentleman from Ohio. It is this, sir: When the Third district was called for, to report from its district convention, a gentleman arose and made a statement—he read it from a paper—that they had had a meeting, and that certain candidates had been elected. Very well. When he closed it, then the gentleman representing the other wing of this business arose, and he also read the proceedings of a district convention. Both parties claimed a majority, and God only knows how it was—I do not. I only know that four gentlemen have sworn to the fact in these affidavits, and with them and God and this Convention the matter lies. I am candid and impartial in the matter. I have only stated the facts, and that is all I know of it.

A DELEGATE. There is no affidavit against it—no counter-proof.

Mr. HOUCK. I should like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. HAGANS. Certainly.

Mr. HOUCK. I desire to ask the gentleman—

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAGANS. I yield for that purpose, sir.

Mr. HOUCK. According to his own statement, the matter is left uncertain as to whether the contestants were elected by the district convention or not. Now, the question I desire to propound to the gentleman is wholly in regard to the sacred right of representation for which he and his friends contend—if he had not better give the district the benefit of the doubt, and not override this “sacred right.”

Mr. HAGANS. If the gentleman desires to put himself and his party in the prisoner's box, I will give him the benefit of it. Now, sir, so far as that is concerned—

Mr. HOUCK. I and my party are not very familiar with prisoners' boxes only when we prosecute felons. I do not know what the gentleman means by that method of answering. I have heard a great deal about “the sacred right of district representation.” If this right be so sacred, I think the gentlemen who have expended so much eloquence in defense of that right ought to show their faith by their works and see that the districts are not cheated out of their rights.

Mr. HAGANS. All right, Mr. President. The gentleman can take either horn of the dilemma he pleases. The majority of the Committee report that the contestants did not prove their cases. The sitting members have a *prima facie* case, having been certified to by the State convention. They went to the proof before the Committee; the proof was disclosed, and the contestants failed to prove their case. Wherefore the *prima facie* case lay with the sitting members. If the gentlemen want legal technicalities they stand with the sitting members. But I am for the “sacred right of district representation.” That is where I stand.

Mr. HOUCK. Will the gentleman yield for another question?

Mr. HAGANS. Certainly.

Mr. HOUCK. I desire to ask the gentleman for whom the majority in that district are—whether they are for the gentleman represented by the sitting member or for the candidate represented by the contestants?

A DELEGATE. What the public sentiment is?

Mr. HOUCK. I want that question answered.

Mr. HAGANS. I will do my best to answer that question.

Mr. HOUCK. I want to know what the people would have done if they could have done it.

Mr. HAGANS. I can only say this: The Third district is 160 miles away from where I live, and I have not personally visited the district for about six or eight years. It lies over on the other side of the water-shed from me. I know not what the public sentiment was, and I cannot tell what it is. I do not run around before conventions and endeavor to ascertain what public sentiment is, as far as I am concerned.

Mr. HOUCK. Will the gentleman yield another moment? I desire to ask him if it was not reported that at a meeting of delegates in this district the gentleman declared for John Sherman, or some other candidate than the one represented by the sitting member?

Mr. HAGANS. If I am to be accountable for all the reports in this country in relation to such matters the Lord only knows what will become of me.

Mr. HOUCK. I will not hold the gentleman accountable for all the reports, nor will I hold him responsible for the condition of that district, but I do think he is a very unsatisfactory witness, as he lives two or three hundred miles over mountains from it, and evidently does not know anything about it.

Mr. HAGANS. *Mr. President:* I have made a statement in this case. These parties are all personal friends of mine. I have endeavored to do it with the same degree of candor and fairness that I would upon the bench, determining a question in a judicial form.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. I would ask if the *prima facie* case made by the sitting members was not a disregard of the understanding, if there was one, that the newspaper account of the affair should be received as evidence? I will put the question again. Is it not the fact that the understanding, if there was one, that the newspaper account should be received and accepted as a correct statement of the proceedings of the convention was disregarded, and that the newspaper account was rejected as evidence by your Committee, in violation of the understanding to which I have referred, and the paper you hold in your hand accepted instead?

Mr. HAGANS. I can only answer the gentleman in this respect: Both papers were before the Committee just like, I suppose, the plaintiff and defendant stand before the jury, and just as if the plaintiff's evidence is not believed and the defendant's is. I know of no other way of stating it.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. It was understood that it was accepted on all hands as a correct statement of what took place, and that, having reached here, the contestants, being only armed with that newspaper, found that there was some supplemental matter, and that was this other paper prepared in violation of that understanding, or in contravention of it.

Mr. HAGANS. I now catch the gentleman's idea. There was no arrangement and no agreement that the newspaper statement should be taken as the facts in the case, until, if there was one at all, the case was brought up before the Committee. Surely none was made in West Virginia that ever I heard of. I do not think the parties passed a word of intercourse from the time that convention met, or had a word of communication in any way, written or oral, until they reached this city.

Mr. HAYMOND, of California. *Mr. President:* I think that gentlemen need not worry about the question of district or State representation, for that question is not involved in this case. Whichever way this Convention votes upon this question it will recognize the right of district representation. Both the sitting members and the

contestants claim title to their seats by virtue of an alleged election at the hands of the district. The only question before this Convention, and the only question considered by the Committee, was as to which of the two were the regularly elected delegates of the district. Now, that is a question of fact, and all the Committee decides is, by a majority of the men who were there and were awake, that the sitting members here were legally elected district delegates. Whichever way this Convention may vote a man need not be afraid to stultify himself. The result of that vote is only a decision that the party receiving the majority was the legally elected representative of that district to this Convention.

Mr. CODMAN, of Massachusetts. I want to say two words.

The PRESIDENT. There is no time limited on this case by any order of the Convention.

Mr. CODMAN. I desire to say this: The gentleman [Mr. Haymond] tells us that there is no question involved here of district representation as against State representation. Will that gentleman deny to this Convention that the State convention of West Virginia undertook to substitute for the report of the district delegates the report of a minority of those delegates? Will he undertake to deny what was known to every man in West Virginia, or in Wheeling, where the convention had met? He has not denied it. It is a question involving district representation. It is this: whether the majority of the district shall rule, or the minority of the district shall rule. I put that to the Convention in reply to the gentleman from California [Mr. Haymond].

Mr. HAGANS. There is no question of whether this is a minority or a majority. It was determined upon the affidavit. The affidavit determined the question that the convention that elected the sitting members was the majority of all the delegates from that district.

The PRESIDENT. Is the Convention ready for the question?

Mr. CONGER. I move that the debate on this case be now closed.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. RILEY, of West Virginia. I desire to ask that the Secretary read this affidavit that pertains to this case. It is a short one.

The PRESIDENT. The Convention has decided to close the debate. It can only be done by unanimous consent. Is there objection?

Objection was heard.

The PRESIDENT. Objection is made. The question is, will the Convention substitute for so much of the report of the majority as relates to the State of West Virginia so much of the report of the minority as relates to that State? Gentlemen in favor of the contestants vote *for* the motion; gentlemen in favor of the sitting members vote *against* the motion.

On taking the question, the Chair being in doubt, a call of the roll was demanded, and the President ordered the roll of States to be called:

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. I rise to ask if this is upon the adoption of the substitute?

The PRESIDENT. This is upon the adoption of the substitute. Gentlemen in favor of the substitute, which reports in favor of the contestants, will, as their States are called, say "Aye." Gentlemen

opposed to the substitute, and in favor of the sitting members, as their States are called, will say "No." The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. There are some gentlemen in this part of the hall who do not understand the question. Will the Chair please to put it?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state the question again, and the Convention will give its attention in quiet. The question is on the motion to substitute the report of the minority for the report of the majority, so far as they respectively relate to the State of West Virginia. The report of the minority is for the contestants; the report of the majority is for the sitting members. The Secretary will call the roll of States.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 417, nays 330, as follows:

<i>States.</i>	<i>No. Del.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>No. Del.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Alabama.....	20	14	4	New York.....	70	49	20
Arkansas.....	12	12	...	North Carolina.....	20	20	...
California.....	12	...	12	Ohio.....	44	28	16
Colorado.....	6	6	...	Oregon.....	6	...	6
Connecticut.....	12	3	8	Pennsylvania.....	58	38	25
Delaware.....	6	...	6	Rhode Island.....	8	...	8
Florida.....	8	8	...	South Carolina.....	14	11	3
Georgia.....	22	19	2	Tennessee.....	24	16	8
Illinois.....	42	25	17	Texas.....	16	11	3
Indiana.....	30	8	22	Vermont.....	10	10	...
Iowa.....	22	...	22	Virginia.....	22	16	6
Kansas.....	10	4	6	West Virginia.....	10	...	8
Kentucky.....	24	20	4	Wisconsin.....	20	10	10
Louisiana.....	16	4	12	Arizona.....	2	...	2
Maine.....	14	...	14	Dakota.....	2	...	2
Maryland.....	16	16	...	District of Columbia..	2	1	1
Massachusetts.....	26	26	...	Idaho.....	2	...	2
Michigan.....	22	1	21	Montana.....	2	...	2
Minnesota.....	10	4	6	New Mexico.....	2	...	2
Mississippi.....	16	11	5	Utah.....	2	...	2
Missouri.....	30	30	...	Washington.....	2	...	2
Nebraska.....	6	...	6	Wyoming.....	2	1	1
Nevada.....	6	...	6				
New Hampshire.....	10	...	10	Total.....	756	417	330
New Jersey.....	18	...	18				

So much of the minority report as related to the State of West Virginia was therefore substituted for so much of the report of the majority as related to that State.

The PRESIDENT. The question now comes on the adoption of the amended report.

The report, as amended, was then adopted.

#### THE UTAH CASE.

The PRESIDENT. The next case is that of the Territory of Utah.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. I move to limit debate on that case to fifteen minutes on each side.

The motion was agreed to.



**Mr. CONGER.** I ask unanimous consent on behalf of the Committee that the alternates, who have been left out by mistake in the Kansas case, may be included, so that they may be entitled to their seats.

**The PRESIDENT.** No objection being made, it will be ordered that the report in regard to Kansas, which relates to the delegates, and which has been adopted, be considered as also dealing in the same way with the alternates of those delegates. There being no objection, it will be so ordered.

**Mr. CONGER.** *Mr. President:* Mr. Clayton will appear for the contestants.

**Mr. CLAYTON,** of Arkansas. Will the Chair state the question?

**The PRESIDENT.** The question is on the adoption of so much of the majority report as relates to the Territory of Utah?

**Mr. CLAYTON.** On that I offer the following resolution.

The Secretary, Mr. Broadwell, read as follows:

*"Resolved, That the minority report of the Committee on Credentials be substituted for the majority report in the Utah contest, and that the contestants be entitled to seats in this Convention in the place of the sitting members."*

**The PRESIDENT.** The question is on the substitution of so much of the report of the minority as relates to the Territory of Utah for so much of the report of the majority as relates to that Territory.

**Mr. CLAYTON,** of Arkansas. *Mr. President:* I desire to be heard upon this motion but a very few moments. This is a very simple case, and is briefly as follows: The Territorial committee of Utah met to consider the question of sending delegates to this Convention, and, instead of calling a convention of the Republicans of the Territory, they undertook themselves to send delegates here. After having taken this action they passed a resolution perpetuating their power and their office. After their adjournment, the Republicans of Utah, or at least a large number of them, were dissatisfied with this course, and as the committee had themselves refused to call a convention, they signed a call to the Republicans of the Territory to meet in delegate convention for the purpose of sending delegates here. In accordance with this call a convention assembled and sent the contestants to this Convention. I have heard a great deal said of late about getting down close to the people in these matters. Now, I ask this Convention whether a party committee, composed of a few gentlemen appointed about four years previously, get closer to the people than a convention of the people, called at a time when these questions are being agitated? That is the whole question. I do not design, in this case, to occupy more of the time of this Convention than I have. I yield the balance of my time.

**Mr. CASSODAY,** of Wisconsin. I wish to say one word on this question.

**The PRESIDENT.** On which side of the question?

**Mr. CASSODAY.** In favor of the contestants. I have been acquainted with one of the contestants for twenty-five years. I am informed by him that the convention held in the Territory was held by about 400 Republicans, and I, for one, shall respect the wishes of the Republicans of the Territory of Utah.

**Mr. PIXLEY,** of California. The members of the Committee have requested me to present the side represented by the majority. The facts, as we understood them, are few and simple.

It has been the custom in Territories for the Central committee to name the delegates to the National Convention. This custom grew up because it was almost impossible, in large Territories, sparsely settled, to hold conventions, and this was an unusual year west of the Rocky Mountains, storms extending late into April. The regularly constituted committee of that Territory met under a regular call, and elected two delegates to this Convention. Some few men, dissatisfied with the result of that election, without ever asking the Central committee to call a convention, without ever appealing to the County committee of Salt Lake to call a convention, met together, without any authority, and elected the two gentlemen who are contesting the election. Upon this state of facts the Committee, I believe, were almost unanimous. Even my friend from Colorado, who always votes on the other side, at this time voted with the majority of the Committee. And, Mr. President, I would call upon the Chairman of the Committee to inform this Convention how the Committee upon Credentials stood upon this question.

Mr. TUTHILL, of Illinois. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from California yield to the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. PIXLEY. I simply desire to conclude my remarks by asking the gentleman from Michigan to state how the Committee stood upon this question. Then I will yield.

Mr. CONGER. I do not think that is a proper question to ask the Chairman of the Committee. Members of the Committee can state what they choose upon that subject. It is sufficient for the Chairman to report what the majority directed, without stating anything further.

Mr. TUTHILL. I am informed, and if I am incorrectly informed I desire to be corrected, that this Central committee of Utah consists of eleven members, appointed four years ago. I am also informed that only five of the members of the committee met to appoint these delegates to the National Convention. I am also informed that those five members of this committee, constituting only a minority of the committee, went to work and filled up the committee there and then, by the appointment of other members of that committee; and that the committee, so filled up, so manufactured on the spur of the moment, went to work, and, without any consultation with the Republicans of the Territory of Utah, nominated this delegation to the National Convention. If that is not correct, I desire to have it corrected. If it be correct, I desire the members of this Convention to bear it in mind when they come to vote.

Mr. CODMAN, of Massachusetts. I desire to say to this Convention that I was compelled to dissent from the majority of the Committee. I will not go over the circumstances, because everybody here knows the fact now, that there are seated here two gentlemen elected by the Territorial committee. The statement of the gentleman from California [Mr. Pixley] is that they have a custom in that Territory of electing delegates by the Territorial committee, because it is convenient. If they have, it is a very good custom, perhaps, for those Territories in which they have it; but they do not have it in the Territory of Utah. That is the point in this case. Why, sir, four years ago the people of Utah got together. There were more railroads, and they were able to get together more conveniently than before. They had a convention, and they chose delegates to the National Convention; but the Central committee of the Territory this year, because it is an unusual year—to use the expression of the

gentleman from California—"a year of unusual severity," "unusual" in many senses, I fear, of that word, thought they would not call a convention, but could elect delegates themselves; and when they got together they proceeded to re-elect themselves; and four years hence, Mr. President, you will find them sending here another pair of delegates, all ready to represent them.

Now, sir, what are the people to do when their agents betray them in this way? Why, they must take the thing into their own hands; and that is what they did in Utah. And the people rose up and demanded a convention; they had a convention; and they elected two delegates, and those two gentlemen are the contestants to-day. I hope the Convention will have the sagacity to seat them. The very gentlemen who are here to-day as sitting members are themselves members of this Central committee.

Mr. WARNER, of Alabama. I would like to ask the gentleman a question for information. Will the gentleman from Massachusetts answer it? Will the gentleman state to us how the call was made—whether it was advertised, by whom made, or how made?

Mr. CODMAN. I do not undertake to say by whom it was made; but I will tell you, gentlemen, by whom it was *not* made. It was not made by the Territorial committee, for obvious reasons.

Mr. WARNER. Was there a public call?

Mr. CODMAN. I understand there was, so far as a call in the newspapers could be called a public call; and what could be more public than that?

Mr. BLAKE, of Montana. I desire to bore this Convention for about the space of two minutes. I represent one of the Territories of the United States. This call, under which the sitting members are seated, or hold their seats at this time, was issued regularly by the Republican committee of Utah. There is no Republican party in Utah. There is no Democratic party in Utah. Whenever an election has been held, lines are always drawn between the Mormons on one side, and the Gentiles, or non-Mormons, on the other.

Mr. CONKLING. Are these the Mormons or the Gentiles? [Laughter.]

Mr. BLAKE. I claim that the contestants in this case represent the Mormon element. I say, further, that while all Democrats are not Mormons, all Mormons are Democrats. After this meeting of the committee was held, at which every vote was represented—eleven members—and as soon as it was ascertained that one of these contestants was not elected, a call was issued; for what purpose? Not for the Republicans of Utah to hold a convention and select delegates, but for a convention opposed to the action of the committee. In other words, if this committee had elected one of these contestants, that would have been regular, that would have been fair, and we would have had no contest. And when this convention of the people met, out of twenty-one counties in Utah only *six* were represented. The contestants are here representing, as they claim, six out of the twenty-one counties in the Territory of Utah. They attended a meeting at which there appears to have been about fifty persons. I wish to say another word. These Territories are commonwealths of magnificent distances. In the Territory of Montana it occupies the time of some of the delegates to a convention nearly three weeks to attend. In the Territory of Utah the same difficulty prevails. The Territory of Arizona and one other Territory are here represented in just the same way. I understand that the State Republican committee of Indiana elected four delegates-at-large to this

**Convention.** I claim that if we are to dwell upon strict legal technicalities, the four delegates-at-large from Indiana are not entitled to their seats. But certainly they have no better claim than the sitting members from Utah. Now, before I close, I say, these contestants represent the Mormons of Utah. When they held their convention, Mr. Bradley introduced the following motion:

"I move, as the sense of the convention, that the political ostracism to which the non-Mormon minority of the Territory are subjected by an ecclesiastical organization calling itself a political party calls for united action on the part of a taxed but unrepresented minority, and we recommend the non-Mormon voters of Utah, without distinction of party, to unite and perfect a political organization that will make itself felt as a standing protest, at least, at the polls."

This was voted down—nine in the affirmative and forty-one in the negative. With these remarks I yield the floor to the gentleman from California.

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. I have had allotted to me a moment of time, by the people holding their seats on this floor, to answer the interrogatory of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Codman]—a question accompanied by a sneer; but there is an answer to the question he asked. He asked these gentlemen if they themselves were not on the State Central committee that sent them here. I answer that they were not; but I will further answer that the contesting delegate was himself a member of the Central committee by proxy, and was voted down, and tried to circumvent the custom of the Territory by getting himself sent here in a most irregular manner.

Mr. TUTHILL, of Illinois. *Mr. President:* I have heard no answer to the proposition stated by me. That was, that five of this committee of eleven assumed to act for the whole committee. I assume, therefore, that that is a fact. If that be so, this minority had no right to fill up that committee, and they had no right whatever, under any circumstances, to name delegates to this Convention. I would suggest to the gentleman from the Territory of Montana [Mr. Blake] that if in the great, populous Territory of Utah, containing the large city of Salt Lake, there is no Republican party, it is time that this National Convention should look forward to the day, not far distant, when Utah will be a State, and it is time that this National Convention of Republicans should inaugurate and create a Republican party in Utah.

Mr. TAYLOR, of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President:* I know very little about this case of Utah; but I wish to say a word or two upon the principle that I understand rises above it, in behalf of my people in the Sixth Congressional district of Pennsylvania, as against almost the whole body of the rest of Pennsylvania. For twenty years we have fought for the rights of the people of a *district*, against the politicians of a State government or county town. As a Whig, I attended nearly every national convention of the Whig party, and never heard of a State convention overriding the people. Until the Republican party, or the leaders of it, attempted it in 1860, it was undreamed of in Pennsylvania. They attempted to select the delegates for the Congressional districts to the Chicago Convention. The people of the then Sixth district of Pennsylvania immediately called a convention of the people, and selected myself and others delegates to that convention. We immediately wrote a letter to the Harrisburg paper, stating that we entertained the idea that it was possible the convention about to assemble at Harrisburg may assume the

extraordinary and unwarranted authority of overriding the people's will in selecting the Congressional Representatives to the National Convention, and entertained, also, the idea that it was possible for it to attempt that equally extraordinary, and, in our opinion, unwarrantable authority, of instructing the people's Congressional district delegates to the Chicago Convention, and, being unwilling that the Republicans of the Sixth Congressional district of Pennsylvania should be left in an equivocal position by reason of our silence as their representatives, we wished it distinctly understood by that convention that if they should pursue the former course, and not select us—if they selected any other gentlemen than ourselves, we would contest their seats, to the best of our ability, in that convention. If they passed any instructions affecting us we would disregard them, unless they were ratified by a regular convention of the people of the Sixth Congressional district. We came to Chicago instructed to vote as a unit. Well, then, I will say we voted for Lincoln and against the instructions. Again I am here, and again they try to instruct me, and again they try to strike me off; but they cannot do it. Never.

Mr. BENNETT, of Utah. I desire to be heard, as I am one of the contesting delegates, and charges have been made against our Republicanism, and our fealty to the country and to God. We are not Mormons. We represent the growing opposition to Mormonism. There is a live Republican party, although small, in Utah. It is so much alive that we refuse to abide by the dictates of any committee to come up here and represent us. We were so alive that when this committee appointed delegates to go to this Convention, by signatures to the extent of 400 a convention was called, regularly convened and held, and delegates elected. I am one of them, and I represent that Republican party of Utah.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. How many counties were there represented?

Mr. BENNETT. There are twenty counties in Utah, and twelve were represented. The eight counties unrepresented only poll about six votes opposed to Mormonism.

Mr. ROBINSON, of New York. Were the delegates in that convention actually elected from the counties which they claimed to represent?

Mr. BENNETT. There were some who were there with proxies; how many I cannot tell, but I think that twenty-eight out of forty-seven of the delegates were persons living in Salt Lake county. There were the thirteen regular delegates from Salt Lake county, and the balance held proxies. It should also be said that Salt Lake county polls fifty per cent. of all the vote opposed to Mormonism, Democratic or Republican. So that Salt Lake county, with any fair representation, would be entitled to half the delegates. She had thirteen in the convention, and her people held these proxies for outside counties.

Mr. ROBINSON. Were not a large number appointed to represent counties in which they did not belong?

Mr. BENNETT. All the parties holding proxies, residing in Salt Lake county, had actual proxies from actually elected delegates in outside counties. It was not a put-up convention in any sense, but very active and fully representative of the Republicans of Utah, and I am here to represent them. It is nothing to you, save as a matter of principle; but for that reason you should give us some encouragement, not only as against the Democrats, but as against Mormonism

as well, and give us a chance so that we may build up a fine Republican party, to be ready when we come in as a State. We are live Republicans. All we want is recognition. We will not bend the neck to any committee, or any committee-men. The committee refused to call a convention. I, myself, demanded it, and it was not called. I demanded that that convention be called. The Republicans had consulted together about it. I was directed by them to make the demand. The chairman refused to call it, and he did not call it. (I was out of the Territory, so he did not refuse to me, but he did not call it.) He called a meeting of his committee for the third of April, under a published call, which did not state that they would take up the question of electing delegates, for we supposed they would call a convention. This is the first time I ever heard of a committee refusing to call a convention to elect delegates. The first we heard was that they had elected delegates to this Convention and refused to call a Territorial convention.

The PRESIDENT. The time allowed to the contestants for discussion has expired.

Mr. CARTER, of Mississippi. *Mr. President:* I am very glad, sir, to have this opportunity of making a few remarks that I regard as important upon the question.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman support the majority report?

Mr. CARTER. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman can proceed for three minutes.

Mr. CARTER. I rose more to ask a question than I did to make a speech. Being a delegate from the "Southern wilds," as characterized by the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, the rude barbarian from the South simply rose to ask one question. I am opposed to representation in any form in the National Convention of delegates from the Territories and from the District of Columbia; but since it has become the province of the Convention to allow these gentlemen to come into the Convention, and perhaps by their votes determine its results, and by their votes deprive perhaps the representation which should be accredited to a State like Illinois, upon the question before the Convention, I only desire, Mr. President, to know, before casting this vote, where Utah might be found in the Convention as to the nominee for President of the United States. I desire to ask the gentleman from Utah [Mr. Bennett] of what class of citizens in Utah Territory he is the representative—whether it is the Brigham Young set or not; and then I will know how to vote.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. I desire to ask a question. As I understand this case, there are two sets of delegates, one having been appointed by the Executive committee, for the Territory of Utah. I further understand, in connection with the action of that committee, that it was about to cease to exist, when it met and passed a resolution resolving that it was not dead, but that it should have a revived political animation and continue to exist for another term without any action of the people—

[Here the hammer fell.]

The PRESIDENT. The time allotted for debate on this question has expired. On both sides. The question is upon the substitution of the minority for the majority report so far as they respectively relate to the Territory of Utah. The roll of States will be called.

Gentlemen in favor of the minority report, which is for the contestants, will, as their States are called, vote "Aye;" those opposed will vote "No."

Mr. HOUCK. Please have the pending resolution read, so that we may understand it.

The PRESIDENT. The pending resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows :

"Resolved, That the minority report of the Committee on Credentials be substituted for the majority report in the Utah contest; and that the contestants be entitled to seats in this Convention in the place of the sitting members."

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will call the roll.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 426, nays 312, as follows:

States.	No.			States.	No.		
	Del.	Ay.	No.		Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama.....	20	16	4	New York.....	70	50	19
Arkansas.....	12	12	...	North Carolina.....	20	20	...
California.....	12	...	12	Ohio.....	44	33	10
Colorado.....	6	...	6	Oregon.....	6	...	6
Connecticut.....	12	9	2	Pennsylvania.....	58	28	30
Delaware.....	6	6	...	Rhode Island.....	8	...	8
Florida.....	8	8	...	South Carolina.....	14	11	3
Georgia.....	22	6	7	Tennessee.....	24	19	5
Illinois.....	42	24	18	Texas.....	16	11	4
Indiana.....	30	4	26	Vermont.....	10	10	...
Iowa.....	22	...	22	Virginia.....	22	10	12
Kansas.....	10	4	6	West Virginia.....	10	1	8
Kentucky.....	24	22	2	Wisconsin.....	20	17	3
Louisiana.....	16	6	10	Arizona.....	2	...	2
Maine.....	14	...	14	Dakota.....	2	1	1
Maryland.....	16	11	5	District of Columbia...	2	1	1
Massachusetts.....	26	26	...	Idaho.....	2	...	2
Michigan.....	22	11	10	Montana.....	2	...	2
Minnesota.....	10	6	4	New Mexico.....	2	...	2
Mississippi.....	16	13	3	Utah.....	2	...	...
Missouri.....	30	29	...	Washington.....	2	1	1
Nebraska.....	6	...	6	Wyoming.....	2	...	2
Nevada.....	6	...	6				
New Hampshire.....	10	...	10	Total.....	756	426	312
New Jersey.....	18	...	18				

So much of the minority report as related to the Territory of Utah was therefore substituted for so much of the report of the majority as related to the same Territory.

The PRESIDENT. The question now recurs on the adoption of the report as amended.

The report as amended was then adopted.

Mr. CONGER. That closes the report of the Committee on Credentials.

## METHOD OF ELECTION OF DELEGATES.

Mr. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President:* This morning I presented a resolution having reference to the constitution of the next National Convention, and the President was kind enough to say, that after the disposition of the report of the Committee on Credentials I should be recognized for the purpose of asking the attention of the Convention to that resolution. The original understanding was that the Committee on Rules should be next heard. I think it will be more appropriate for me to offer the substance of my resolution as an amendment to the tenth rule as reported, or as it is understood it will be reported, by the Committee on Rules. Therefore I waive the consideration that I had from the Chair, and give notice that when the report of the Committee on Rules is under consideration I will move my resolution, or the substance of it, and the Convention can then act upon it.

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. I rise to a point of order. It is, that the report of the Committee on Rules, having been laid on the table pending the action of the Convention on the report of the Committee on Credentials, is now the only business before this Convention. I call for it.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair sustains the point of order. The report of the Committee on Rules is before the Convention.

## RULES.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. I desire to inquire of the gentleman representing the minority how much time, if any, he desires for discussion.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. I desire to hear what motion the gentleman from Ohio will make. I do not intend to detain the Convention, and he will be entirely satisfied with the motion that I shall make, after I propose to hear what he has decided upon.

Mr. GARFIELD. Then I move, Mr. President, that the report of the Committee on Rules be adopted, and upon that subject, if any amendment is to be offered, I hope it will be offered before the discussion, if any is to be had, shall begin.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio moves the adoption of the report.

Mr. GARFIELD. I think the report of the minority of the Committee should be offered, and then any other amendments.

The PRESIDENT. It is not in the memory of the Chair at this moment—was the report of the minority of the Committee offered?

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. Yes, sir, and laid upon the table, to be called up with the majority report.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will, then, direct the majority and minority reports, both, to be read for the information of the Convention.

## THE MAJORITY REPORT ON RULES.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

The Committee on Rules and Order of Business beg leave to make the following report:

Rule 1. The Convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each State equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, and two delegates from each Territory and two from the District of Columbia.



Rule 2. The Rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of the Convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the following rules:

Rule 3. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegates from any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the Convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule 4. Upon all subjects before the Convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories and District of Columbia.

Rule 5. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Resolutions is acted upon; and the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 6. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories and the District of Columbia, the Secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories and the District of Columbia in the order heretofore stated.

Rule 7. In making the nomination for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate has received a majority of the votes cast, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be, Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous? But if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the Chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast; and when any State has announced its vote, it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error.

Rule 8. In the record of the vote by States, the vote of each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the Chairman; and in case the vote of any State, Territory or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate or for or against any proposition; but if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the chairman of his delegation, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given.

Rule 9. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the Convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes in presenting the name of such candidate.

Rule 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia, represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee.

Rule 11. All resolutions relating to the platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions, without debate.

Respectfully submitted.

J. A. GARFIELD, *Chairman.*

THOMAS W. CHASE, *Secretary.*

The PRESIDENT. The minority report will now be read.

THE MINORITY REPORT ON RULES.

The Secretary read as follows:

"The minority from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, consisting of the delegates from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, New York, Tennessee, Virginia, Illinois and Colorado, respectfully recommend the retention of Rule No. 8, being Rule No. 6 of the Convention of 1876, in the same language held by this rule in former Republican conventions, under which the rights of all delegates have been heretofore protected, and which is as follows:

"In the record of the votes by States, the vote of each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the Chairman; and in case the votes of any State, Territory or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate or for or against any proposition."

"Your Committee believe that the addition made by a majority of the Committee, after a protracted debate, is unwise; that it tends to invite discussions, which may not otherwise be forced upon the Convention; that it is unnecessary to protect the rights of individual members, and that it gratuitously and in advance casts an imputation upon the chairmen of the respective delegations."

J. H. THOMASSON, Alabama.  
J. H. JOHNSON, Arkansas.  
JAMES DEAN, Florida.  
W. GODFREY HUNTER, Kentucky.  
H. C. CARTER, Mississippi.  
THOMAS B. RODGERS, Missouri.  
GEORGE H. SHARPE, New York.  
J. M. CORDELL, Tennessee.  
W. R. WATKINS, Virginia.  
A. W. METCALF, Illinois.  
M. M. MEGRUE, Colorado.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] state the precise form of motion with which he accompanies his minority report?

Mr. SHARPE. I understand the motion before the Convention to be that the report of the majority be adopted. Am I right?

The PRESIDENT. That is the motion made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Garfield], and it is pending.

Mr. SHARPE. Then, I have stated it correctly?

The PRESIDENT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHARPE. I suppose, then, Mr. President, that my motion ought to be to substitute the minority report. But I desire, before making any motion, to make one or two remarks, and I do it in order to shorten the work of the Convention. Some suggestions were made yesterday that delays that had occurred were intentional. The delays that were asked for by the Committee on Rules were intended to produce just action by this Convention. That has been had; and now, Mr. President, I confess that I am a little surprised that when the gentleman from Ohio made any motion he did not move that the minority report be made the law of this Convention.

Under the action of the rule, as formerly established, we have been in session Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, and no such embarrassment has arisen as the gentleman from Ohio thought might arise, and which he proposed to guard against by this celebrated amendment to the eighth rule. Not a single delegation has undertaken here to fly in the face of its chairman or to question his honesty. No scene has occurred, and after having lived under the extension of the eighth rule for three days and a half, it seems to me that the gentleman would have been justifiable in moving that the report of the minority be adopted. But, Mr. President, in good faith I am not here to ask for further delay. Sir, there is a time when further movement to secure position would be unjustifiable. The battle line is formed. Each side is ready. And the people are waiting for the result. We all feel that whatever was to be obtained on the skirmish line has been obtained, and we are standing in the ranks of battle, opposed to each other, and ready to give the people news of the contest. I therefore offer the following resolution:

*"Resolved, That this Convention will proceed immediately to ballot for candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, and that one speech of fifteen minutes be allowed for the presentation of each candidate, and ten minutes for one speech to second each nomination."*

I send my resolution to the Chair.

Mr. GARFIELD. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio will suspend. The resolution will first be read for the information of the Convention, and then the gentleman's point of order will be heard. The gentleman from New York moves the following as a substitute for the proposition reported by the gentleman from Ohio from the Committee. It will be read for the information of the Convention.

The resolution was read.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio will now state his point of order.

Mr. GARFIELD. My point of order, Mr. President, is, that in the first place, under the order of the Convention, the Committee on the rules of the Convention was ordered to report. The resolution now offered by the gentleman he did not offer as a substitute for rules, but as a resolution about another business; and it is not in order to take up another business distinct from the order under which the Convention is acting.

Mr. SHARPE. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The Chair does not desire to hear further debate on the point of order.

Mr. SHARPE. The Chair understands, of course, that my motion is made as a substitute for the report of the Committee on Rules.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair understands the motion. The Committee on Rules reported for the government of a Convention whose functions will expire when its candidates are nominated and other incidental business—a series of rules, one of which provides for the method of procedure in that nomination. The others provide other matters for the government of the Convention. The Chair is of opinion that a substitute which provides for the same thing and nothing else, to wit: for the proceeding to nominate candidates, and for the method of such proceeding, making no provision for any other subject, is in order, and the Chair so holds.

Mr. SHARPE. I want to complete the procedure by completing my motion—by adding, “and at the end thereof that the roll of States be called.”

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will modify his substitute, and it will be read as modified.

The Secretary read as follows:

“*Resolved*, That this Convention will proceed immediately to ballot for a candidate for President and Vice-President of the United States, and that one speech of fifteen minutes be allowed for the presentation of each candidate, and ten minutes for one speech to second each nomination, and that, after such nominations are made, such ballot will be taken by a call of the roll of the States.”

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. I rise to ask for information. If this substitute is adopted, under what rules will this Convention be governed? Have we any rules?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that if this resolution be substituted and adopted, it will of itself form a rule for the government of the Convention, so far as it applies. Other orders which have been made by the Convention, or which may be made, will likewise govern its action. Further than that, the Convention will be governed by what may be conveniently called the general parliamentary law.

Mr. SEWELL. I move to lay the substitute on the table.

The PRESIDENT. The motion to lay the substitute on the table, if it prevails, carries the whole matter with it.

Mr. GARFIELD. I ask the gentleman to withdraw it.

Mr. SEWELL. In deference to the views of the Chairman of the Committee I withdraw it.

Mr. GARFIELD. The Chair having ruled the resolution in order—and I bow, of course, to his ruling—I ask the attention of the Convention for a moment to the merits of the pending substitute for the rules. In my judgment, it does not purport to be a body of rules by which to regulate or decide any question or method whatever, except the mere time to be granted to present nominations. All questions whether the vote shall be cast by ballot, in ballot-boxes, whether they shall be cast by a show of hands, whether they shall be cast by a call of the roll, or whether they shall be cast by a majority of the votes of each State, without regard to the individual votes of the delegates, are questions unsettled by the resolution. If it be adopted, it rejects all that is offered as the old code of rules of four years ago, and leaves us to the vague uncertainty that belongs to a great Convention without formal rules. We have now been here four days, patiently waiting to do the great business upon which we have come here, in order and with decorum of proceeding. We have waited to find out first who are entitled to be delegates, and four days have been occupied in settling that question. In order that there might be the utmost fairness, the question of what rules shall bind us has been properly postponed until everybody who is to be bound shall be consulted about the rules. And now, in that same spirit of order, in that same spirit of settling all controversies likely to arise, we propose to lay before the President, and put in his hand, by the authority of this Convention, a code of rules by which he shall conduct its great business to the end. If these rules are not right, change them, amend them, make a substitute for them, but

let that substitute cover the case. While on my feet I desire to say that I am a little surprised at an expression in the minority report implying that the report of the majority is in some vague and mysterious sense a reflection upon the various chairmen of the State delegations. How is it possible that this great Convention reflects on any man here, when it lays down a rule not only for him, but for every other delegate? It is quite too much to say that anybody in this Convention is reflected on when there are rules made for governing him and all of equal rank with him. It was said that there had never occurred anything to indicate that the word of any chairman could not be trusted. Certainly not. But I think this Convention is sufficient witness that there are controversies between honorable gentlemen, and there may be controversies between chairmen and their delegates. We saw a spectacle that will probably be photographed in history, of four delegates rising on the top of their seats and protesting against the vote announced by their chairman. That cast no reflection upon the chairman of the delegation from Kentucky; none whatever. He was obeying his duty as he understood it, and the delegates were obeying their duty as *they* understood it. It is the business of this Convention to prescribe a rule which *all* shall obey—chairmen and delegates equally. No man is greater than the law, and no man should be greater than a just rule. Settle the rule. Settle it in any way you please. Make it the "unit" rule, and I am bound by it. Make it the individual rule—that each individual shall have the right to vote—and I am bound by it, for two great reasons: first, because you make it the rule, and, greater still, because I believe it to be everlastingly right. There is but one point of difference between the majority and the minority, and it can readily be settled by one vote, after a fair and reasonable debate. That point of difference may be stated in a single sentence. It is this: the minority desire the old rule to stand, under which unseemly controversy arose in 1876. The majority desire to make certain what they believe to be, and what the minority also intimate they also believe to be the proper rendition of that rule. On that view of the case I ought to demand of my honorable friend who makes the minority report that he should move to adopt the report of the majority, for it is his own construction of the rule.

Mr. FRYE, of Maine. I desire to ask—

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Ohio yield to the gentleman from Maine?

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. FRYE. I desire to ask the distinguished gentleman from Ohio this question: Without adopting any of those rules as reported, and especially that rule which makes the rules of the House of Representatives the rules of this Convention, is there any such thing as a previous question?

Mr. GARFIELD. I take it there is not.

Mr. FRYE. Then, sir, I desire to ask you one question further. If there is no previous question in this Convention, and after one ballot in answer to this resolution of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] has been taken, and another gentleman then makes the motion that the Convention proceed to ballot for President, is there any rule in this body by which debate, from the time it is offered until twelve o'clock at night, can possibly be stopped?

Mr. GARFIELD. Manifestly there is not.

Mr. FRYE. Then, I take it that this Convention will see the point.

Mr. CONKLING. Will the gentleman from Ohio yield to me?

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. CONKLING. As the gentleman from Ohio gives way to me, I wish to reply to the closing remarks of the gentleman from Maine, which seemed to be leveled pointedly in my direction. I beg to assure the gentleman from Maine that I do most clearly see the point, at this moment, of his opposition and his statement.

Mr. GARFIELD. *Mr. President:* At this preliminary stage I do not desire to enter upon a discussion of the merits of the rule. I have only made the point, with which I close my remarks at present, that we ought to have rules, and have them now, to conduct and control the future business of this Convention. I am sure the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] did not intend, certainly I think he could not have intended, in the drafting of this resolution, to exclude the Territories of the United States from voting on this question. But I believe that they are excluded by the language of his resolution.

Mr. SHARPE. Whether the Territories are excluded or not, I leave to my friend the Secretary, to whom I went and asked that he would finish the resolution according to the usual form of words used in asking for a call of the roll.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary states that he wrote the words stated to him by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] himself, and that it was not becoming for him to undertake to modify or change them. If the gentleman desires now to modify the motion, it will be in order.

Mr. SHARPE. Most certainly, sir, I simply used, as I supposed, the ordinary form of directing the call of the roll of this Convention. Now, Mr. President, my friend from Ohio [Mr. Garfield] has undertaken to make a supposed state of circumstances. He sees danger which nobody threatens, and he makes a valiant battle against it. Indeed, after having been aided by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. Frye], he finally gets the Convention into such a condition of being terror-stricken that we are overcome with amazement at the injustice that this Convention might possibly do. What is there left to be done? Nothing but to make the nominations, and to read the report of the Committee on Resolutions. The delegates are anxious to go home. A sufficient number will remain to finish the platform; and when the candidates are nominated, relief will be produced among thousands of those who are here present.

Does the gentleman in good faith ask me whether this ballot is to be taken by ballots being put into a ballot-box, by "aye" and "no," or by each man's vote being called? Does he in good faith ask me whether every delegate is to have the right on the floor of expressing his preference through the chairman of his delegation? Does he in good faith ask *that* of a Convention which, for three days and a half, has been a law unto itself? Has there been a single appeal from any decision? Has anybody disputed the vote of any State? And when the four gentlemen from Kentucky stood up, was there a call of the whole roll from Kentucky? No, sir. Why, Mr. President, all that we ask to avoid is this—(all that we *did* ask to avoid; we have got nothing now to avoid in it.) You know how long it takes to call the roll of these States and Territories. How long would it take, upon the application of individuals who might seek, like my friend from Maine, to call the roll of the 700 and odd delegates of this Convention? There is nothing more to be done. The report of the

Committee on Rules would have no application, except, as the Chairman of that Committee states, when the report of the Committee on Resolutions should be read. And it is simply to avoid *that* that I ask now that the Convention will proceed to nominate its candidates, in order that we may all see our way to leave for our homes before the breaking of the Sunday morning.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] will be read again, and he will give it his attention, to see whether it is in accordance with his desire.

Mr. SHARPE. Has the Secretary added the usual words?

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read it if the gentleman will listen.

Mr. SHARPE. Will the Secretary be kind enough to add "the Territories and the District of Columbia," if not in it?

The SECRETARY. I have added those words.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, then read as follows:

"Resolved, That this Convention will proceed immediately to ballot for candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States; and that one speech, of fifteen minutes, be allowed for the presentation of each candidate, and ten minutes for one speech to second each nomination; and that after such nominations are made such ballot will be taken by a call of the roll of the States, Territories and the District of Columbia."

The question being on this resolution, a call of the roll was demanded, and the President ordered the roll of the States to be called.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 276, nays 479, as follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama.....	20	15	5	New York.....	70	48	22
Arkansas.....	12	12	...	North Carolina.....	20	4	16
California.....	12	...	12	Ohio.....	44	...	44
Colorado.....	6	6	...	Oregon.....	6	...	6
Connecticut.....	12	...	12	Pennsylvania.....	58	31	27
Delaware.....	6	...	6	Rhode Island.....	8	...	8
Florida.....	8	8	...	South Carolina.....	14	9	5
Georgia.....	22	6	16	Tennessee.....	24	16	8
Illinois.....	42	24	18	Texas.....	16	11	5
Indiana.....	30	...	30	Vermont.....	10	...	10
Iowa.....	22	...	22	Virginia.....	22	12	10
Kansas.....	10	4	6	West Virginia.....	10	1	8
Kentucky.....	24	20	4	Wisconsin.....	20	1	19
Louisiana.....	16	2	14	Arizona.....	2	...	2
Maine.....	14	...	14	Dakota.....	2	...	2
Maryland.....	18	7	9	District of Columbia..	2	...	2
Massachusetts.....	28	4	22	Idaho.....	2	...	2
Michigan.....	22	1	21	Montana.....	2	...	2
Minnesota.....	10	...	10	New Mexico.....	2	...	2
Mississippi.....	16	5	11	Utah.....	2	...	2
Missouri.....	30	29	1	Washington.....	2	...	2
Nebraska.....	6	...	6	Wyoming.....	2	...	2
Nevada.....	6	...	6				
New Hampshire.....	10	...	10	Totals.....	756	276	479
New Jersey.....	18	...	18				

So the resolution was rejected.

Mr. GARFIELD. In the apparent effort to expedite business time enough has been wasted to have adopted the rules and gone to work. I suggest, therefore, that without further debate we vote upon the report of the Committee as submitted.

Mr. SHARPE. *Mr. President:* I accept the proposition of the gentleman from Ohio. I simply want—I mean all this in good faith—to move to substitute the minority report. I want the question understood, and I shall refrain from calling for a vote of the States upon it. I now move to substitute the minority report.

The motion to substitute was not agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question now is on the adoption of the report of the majority of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Mr. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts. I now ask the Secretary to read the resolution I proposed, omitting in it all before the word “prescribe,” and inserting before that word “Said committee shall,” and add it to the tenth rule.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves to amend the report in the form which will now be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

“Add to rule 10. as presented by the majority of the Committee on Rules, the following:

“‘And said committee shall prescribe a method or methods for the election of delegates to the National Convention to be held in 1884, announce the same to the country, and issue a call for that Convention in conformity therewith.’”

A DELEGATE. Will the Secretary read the rule as it will read when amended?

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

“Rule 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia, represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called and the delegation from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee. Said committee shall prescribe a method or methods for the election of delegates to the National Convention to be held in 1884; announce the same to the country, and issue a call for that Convention in conformity therewith.”

Mr. BOUTWELL. I will add the words, “within the next twelve months,” after the words, “said committee shall.”

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will again read that portion of the rule which has now been amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

“Said committee shall, within the next twelve months, prescribe a method or methods for the election of delegates to the National Convention to be held in 1884; announce the same to the country, and issue a call for that Convention in conformity therewith.”

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. I move to amend the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts by adding the following words:

“Provided that nothing in the method or rule so prescribed shall be so construed as to prevent the several districts of the United States from selecting their own delegates to the National Convention.”

I will put my amendment in writing and send it to the Secretary.



Mr. BOUTWELL. I accept that amendment.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts accepts the modification of his amendment, and now moves to amend by adding to the tenth rule as the Secretary will read.

The Secretary then read as follows:

"Said committee shall, within the next twelve months, prescribe a method or methods for the election of delegates to the National Convention to be held in 1884; announce the same to the country, and issue a call for that Convention in conformity therewith: *Provided*, that such methods or rules shall include and secure to the several Congressional districts in the United States the right to elect their own delegates to the National Convention."

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon the amendment moved by the gentleman from Massachusetts, which has been read.

Mr. GARFIELD. Of course I have no authority on behalf of my Committee to accept this amendment. For myself I cheerfully accept it, and I hope it will be adopted without dissent.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question now recurs on the adoption of the report of the majority of the Committee as amended.

The report as amended was adopted.

#### RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. GARFIELD. I move that the Committee on Resolutions be now ordered to report for the consideration of the Convention.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PIERREPONT, of New York. *Mr. President*: I hardly need to say that in a committee composed of one from every State in this Union, from every Territory, and from the District of Columbia, there was a great diversity of opinion about the questions which in the resolutions should be brought before this Convention. Early in this Convention it became apparent that we would have a sufficient number of exciting topics which would keep us active and awake. We have endeavored in the resolutions we present to have nothing upon which we could not ourselves agree and nothing which would tend to disturb the harmony of this Convention or awaken angry debate or long delay. I have now the honor to present the resolutions which the Committee have agreed upon.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

##### THE PLATFORM.

The Republican party, in National Convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration.

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the Union of the States, with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone. It transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of

hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has raised the value of our paper currency from 88 per cent. to the par of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the Nation from the point where six per cent. bonds sold at eighty-six to that where four per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium.

Under its administration, railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860, to more than 82,000 miles in 1879. Our foreign trade has increased from \$700,000,000 to \$1,115,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were \$265,000,000 more than our imports in 1879.

Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of Government, besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and has disbursed annually more than \$30,000,000 for soldiers' and sailors' pensions. It has paid \$880,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at lower rates has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$150,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived; labor is in demand; wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

Upon this record the Republican party ask for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this Convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts.

1. We affirm that the work of the Republican party for the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend it to the favor of the Nation; that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the Union should be perpetuated, and that the liberty secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to other generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce already increasing should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. Out of confederated States it made a sovereign Nation. Some powers are denied to the Nation, while others are denied to the States; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the National, and not by the State tribunal.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional power. The intelligence of the Nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States, and the destiny of the Nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the aggregate genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the Nation can be protected against the influence of secret sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We, therefore,

recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the Legislature of each State, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We affirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; that we deem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our sea-coast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of the fifteen years since their final victory. To do them honor is, and shall forever be, the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as a matter of grave concernment, under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes, in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to him for a Presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive; and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his vetoes interposed between the people and attempted partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the National Government, and control of the place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage, and have devised fraudulent ballots and invented fraudulent certifications of returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress, to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of the States in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, rescued by the courage and actions of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills, upon whose passage the very movement of the Government depended; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of the Rebellion against the Nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom and individual equality.

The equal, steady and complete enforcement of laws, and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunity guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the Nation. The dangers of a solid South can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the Nation has made to the

citizen. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the Nation makes the Nation must perform. A Nation cannot safely relegate this duty to the States. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all honest opinions must there find free expression. To this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony that may be possible; and we submit to the practical, sensible people of these United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the National Government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence and hope.

EDWARDS PIERREPONT, *Chairman.*

T. D. EDWARDS, *Secretary.*

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of the resolutions.

#### CIVIL SERVICE.

Mr. BARKER, of Massachusetts. I desire to move an amendment to the resolutions, by adding an additional resolution, which I will send to the Chair—a resolution touching the civil service.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves to amend the resolutions by adding the following:

“The Republican party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last National Convention, of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointment to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform in the civil service shall be thorough, radical and complete. To that end it demands the co-operation of the Legislative with the Executive Departments of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service. That the tenure of administrative offices, except those through which the distinctive policy of the party in power is carried out, shall be made permanent during good behavior, and that the power of removal for cause, with due responsibility for the good conduct of subordinates, shall accompany the power of appointment.”

Mr. BARKER. I have no desire, Mr. President, to delay this Convention in making an argument upon the position which the Republican party now—

Mr. VAN HORN, of Missouri. *Mr. President:* I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Missouri will state his point of order.

Mr. VAN HORN. Under the rules just adopted that resolution should go to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair overrules the point of order. It is an amendment to the report of the Committee.

A DELEGATE. I move to lay the resolution on the table.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman has not the floor for that purpose.

Mr. BARKER. As I said, I have no desire to delay this Convention in order to argue this point. Every member of this Convention, every

member of the Republican party, every voter in these great United States, has his opinion upon the civil service. From the eminent man whom many of us desire to nominate, the man who introduced by his message as President a reform in the civil service, down to every man who is an humble voter, our minds are made up about that. But, sir, I take the position here—I take the position before the country—that it is not fitting for the Republican party, the party of principles in this country, to pass over, without mention, such a subject as this at this time. There have been four divisions, or periods, in the history of the civil service. One of these periods was under the administration of that great man whose portrait overlooks us [Washington], and of his successor, when the civil service needed no reform; for it had never been corrupted. The next was the period when the party whom we attack to-day brought that vicious principle into practice, that “To the victors belong the spoils.” The third period was the period when Gen. Grant, having saved this country by his military genius, sought also to save it by his statesmanship and his patriotism; and attempted, by his messages, by recommending the enforcement of civil-service reform, to save it in that direction; and he only was compelled to desist that because he was not supported in Congress. The fourth period is the period which was inaugurated in our last Convention; and at that time a plank was adopted which I ask that the Secretary may read—the fifth plank of the platform, under which we marched to victory four years ago. I ask that it may be read. It is on the fifty-sixth page of the proceedings of the last National Convention.

The Secretary read as follows :

“Under the Constitution, the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office; the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule for appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity and capacity of appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented; but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service and the right of citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to their country.”

Mr. BARKER. Now, we mean, Mr. President, just what we say when we speak for Massachusetts in this Convention. The point in the civil service which needs amendment—the point practically where the reform has failed, if it has failed, though I deny that it has failed, is, that legislation is needed in Congress. From a Democratic Congress, to be sure, we have to ask for it; but let us demand it. That is the point. And, sir, I cannot let this time pass without having an opportunity to record my vote in favor of this principle, and also of extending to every gentleman here an opportunity, if he shall so desire, so to record his vote. I, therefore, have moved this amendment.

Mr. FLANAGAN, of Texas. *Mr. President:* Texas has had quite enough of the civil service. During the last four years, sir, out of 1,400 officers appointed by the President of the United States, 140

represented the Republican party. We are not here, sir, for the purpose of providing offices for the Democracy. There is one plank in the Democratic party that I have ever admired, and that is, "To the victors belong the spoils." After we have won the race, as we will, we will give those who are entitled to positions office. What are we up here for? I mean that members of the Republican party are entitled to office, and if we are victorious we will have office. I, therefore, move to lay the amendment on the table.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair desires the gentleman from Texas to give his attention to the Chair.

A DELEGATE. I move to postpone the amendment.

The PRESIDENT. No motion can be made which will separate the amendment from the general subject before the Convention.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. Will it be in order to move to refer this resolution to the Committee on Resolutions?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is of opinion that it would carry with it the whole pending subject.

Mr. HOUCK. Well, the sooner we get rid of it in some way the better. If it can be voted down, of course that will do.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. I move you, sir, that the whole platform, together with the amendment, be recommitted to the Committee on Resolutions, with instructions to report back the platform forthwith without the amendment.

Mr. CODMAN, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President:* The gentleman from Pennsylvania, if his motion pass, will not get out of the difficulty. For, sir, if the Committee report back the platform without the amendment proposed by my colleague, we shall, I hope, be here, and we shall propose it again. We want a vote on this subject, and I think we shall have it. We may not be numerous, or we may be, that advocate this resolution, but we shall have a vote on it.

I am impressed, Mr. President, with the good opinion which the gentleman from Texas entertains of his associates on this floor. He tells us that we have come up here to arrange for getting the offices. I protest, for one, against having come here for any such purpose. I thought I came here, and so did my colleagues, to help to nominate a man for President of the United States who would see, so far as he had anything to do with the offices, that the right men were put in the right places. I hope we will nominate here somebody who will not peddle out offices as a reward for services. I know this Convention is weary and desires to proceed to business. But let me tell my friend from Texas that if he thinks that the men of Massachusetts here will not have a vote on that proposition he is vastly mistaken.

Mr. CESSNA. I did not make my motion with any intention to deprive my friend from Massachusetts of a vote. He can get it upon my motion as readily as he can get it in any other way. And when he informs me that he will see that, when it comes back, we will have a vote—have it offered again, I simply reply that I made my motion for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of the Convention on that proposition, and if it is upon my side on this question, we will see if the previous question will bring us to a direct vote, and he will not have the pleasure of making it again. But if the Convention should be in favor of the proposition introduced by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Barker] they can so indicate it by voting down my motion. I opposed the motion, not on account of any feeling whatsoever, but for other reasons. We come here to our Convention for the purpose of gathering Republican views, and the Republican doctrine, and the Republican policy, from all the States and Territories of

this Union, and in order to accomplish that purpose and to promote unity and harmony, which are the foreleaders and harbingers of success, we select one gentleman from every delegation from every State and Territory in this Union as a Committee on Platform; and to that Committee we refer the difficult task of making that platform. I assume that they made it in good faith, that they deliberated and discussed all these questions with judgment and discretion, and that they—Massachusetts being represented there with the rest of the States—after due deliberation, being by themselves, embodied what was supposed to be good and necessary, and that they have brought out nothing upon which the whole party of this country is not united. And it is because I did not like to see any attempt to tamper with or interfere with the action of that Committee that I made the motion I did, because if we have a right to so act upon one subject, other members might do so upon other subjects. But, while I am on the floor (I did not intend to say a word if it had not been for the remarks of the gentleman from Massachusetts) I will go one step further. He knows, and I know, that the offices at Washington are half full of men who were placed there by the Democratic party of this country, when in power, and they are incrustated like rats in their holes, and we cannot get them out. They are full of rebels—rebel soldiers; some of them rebel officers; and I, for one, do not want this civil service to be put too strongly upon us until we are allowed to turn out the rebel brigadiers and rebel captains and put in Union soldiers. I simply want to get them out and make way for our one-legged and one-armed Union soldiers.

Mr. WARNER, of Alabama. I would not have offered this resolution, but it is here, and I suggest to the Republicans of the United States, in National Convention assembled, that we cannot, we ought not and we dare not to vote it down. I say I would not have offered it; but the suggestion of my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna] amounts to this—that when we get all our men in office we are ready to have civil service reform; and, if we are beaten four years hence, the Democratic party will say, when they turn all our men out and get all theirs in, *they* are in favor of civil-service reform. Now, I say I would not have offered this resolution, but it is here, and the Republican party of the country—the great body of good citizens who hold the balance of power and who will elect the next President—are in favor of it. I am in favor of it myself. A good deal of contumely has been thrown upon the civil-service rules because of their lax enforcement. The same might be said of the Ten Commandments. It has taken a good while to enforce the Ten Commandments. It will take a good while to get real civil-service reform in this country, but unless we begin we will never get it done. President Hayes has done some good work. There is evidence enough here in this Convention that the work is not all done, and, if a vote is to be taken on this question, I would suggest to the Chair, in mercy to the civil service, that Federal officeholders be not required to vote.

Mr. CARTER, of Mississippi. I am in favor of the motion made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna] to re-commit the report to the Committee on Resolutions, not on the ground of civil service, but upon the ground that it sets forth, in the first few words, that the Republican party had made out of chattels, citizens. Sir, it is true that we were in chains of physical bondage when the proclamation was made by the immortal Lincoln, but we are still slaves. We are not free in the South. We come here to your city, and, when we visit this great Northwest, and look upon the manner in which

men of our color are entertained in the Northwest, we feel that there yet remains a grand duty for the Republican party to discharge. When the war broke out those men proved loyal to the Union. The gentleman from West Virginia, in his remarks the other day, stated that he had fought for my liberty. No man fought for me, sir. In September, 1862, I was enrolled as a Union soldier in the city of New Orleans, and, Mr. President, with reference to that portion of the platform that says, "as slavery went down, so must go polygamy," may God grant that polygamy shall never stop where slavery rests now. As to the civil service and the delegates from the South who are sent to Chicago, we come here imbued with loyalty to the Federal Government, imbued with loyalty to the Republican party; we intend, while here, to cast our votes. We have no compromises to make. We have no trades to make. We were sent here by the people of the South to cast our votes for the most distinguished man that lives in the world to-day—Gen. Grant, the proud son of the State of Illinois. There is not a civilized government upon the face of the globe but what would be willing to own him. The black soldier that fought beneath his starry banner still claims that he wants Grant, and nobody else.

**THE PRESIDENT.** The five minutes awarded to the gentleman have expired. We are now working under the new rules. The question is on the adoption of the amendment moved by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Barker].

**MR. BARKER.** I call for a vote by States.

**THE PRESIDENT.** Is the gentleman authorized by a majority of his delegation to make the call? It is required by the new rules.

**MR. CRESSNA.** What has become of my motion to re-commit, with instructions?

**THE PRESIDENT.** The Chair would suggest that the object of the gentleman can be better accomplished after the pending vote has been taken.

**MR. CRESSNA.** I accept the suggestion of the Chair, if that is preferred.

**THE PRESIDENT.** The Secretary will read the rule in regard to a demand for a vote by States.

The Secretary, Mr. Broadwell, read as follows:

"Rule 6. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories and the District of Columbia, the Secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories and the District of Columbia in the order heretofore stated."

**THE PRESIDENT.** An individual member of the delegation is not entitled, under this rule, to call for a vote by States. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts state that he is authorized by a majority of the delegates from his State to make that request?

**MR. BARKER.** I so state.

**THE PRESIDENT.** The gentleman's statement will be accepted by the Chair. The delegation from the State of Massachusetts request a vote on this question by States. Is that request seconded by the delegation from any other State?

**MR. PIXLEY, of California.** California seconds the motion.

**THE PRESIDENT.** The roll of States will be called.

**MR. HOUCK, of Tennessee.** There is some confusion in this part of the hall as to what the precise question is.



The PRESIDENT. The precise question stated by the Chair is the question of a direct vote on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Barker], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna] withdrawing his motion, if a direct vote is to be taken.

A DELEGATE from Maryland. I ask that the pending resolution be again read.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution will be again read, for information.

The Secretary read as follows:

"The Republican party, adhering to the principle affirmed by its last National Convention, of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the Legislative with the Executive Department of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service; that the tenure of administrative offices, except those through which the distinctive policy of the party in power is carried out, shall be made permanent during good behavior, and that the power of removal for cause, with due responsibility for the good conduct of subordinates, shall accompany the power of appointment.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon the adoption of this amendment. The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. WARNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman from Alabama rise?

Mr. WARNER. I rise to ask whether a motion to strike out part of the resolution is in order.

The PRESIDENT. It is in order.

Mr. WARNER. I move to strike out the latter part, "That the tenure of administrative offices, except those through which the distinctive policy of the party in power is carried out, shall be made permanent during good behavior."

A DELEGATE from Missouri. A word of explanation on behalf of the Committee. I rose partly to make that motion. This proposition was twice rejected by a formal vote of the Committee on Resolutions; and had the Committee any idea that such a plank was desired or would be offered, they would have tried to have reported it in a form more consonant with the wishes of the members of the Convention. But I have no idea that the most ardent friend of civil service reform, or whatever you may call it, is in favor of establishing life-tenure of office in this country. I complain that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Barker] has not treated the Committee fairly, in withholding notice that he intended to bring this before the Convention. Otherwise we might have considered and brought in a resolution consonant with the common sense of the people of this country, even those who favor it.

Mr. ANTHONY, of Illinois. I agree with a number of gentlemen in what they have said in behalf of this resolution, and with the gentleman who is the author of it. It will be seen, by reading it, that it provides in the latter part of it a code of laws as to how it shall be carried out. It is not necessary, in order to the clear enunciation of the principle that he wishes to put before the Convention and to become part of the platform, that *that* should be done; and I,

therefore, move to strike out all after the words "Executive Department of the Government." The resolution will then provide for the co-operation of the legislative and executive powers of the Government, and that is all that is necessary to put into this platform to enunciate the principles for which we are contending.

Mr. BARKER. I am willing, sir, to accept that amendment.

The PRESIDENT. The amendment is accepted by the mover. The question now is on the resolution as amended, and on that question a call of States has been demanded.

A DELEGATE from Kentucky. I would like to hear the resolution read as it will be as amended.

Mr. CODMAN, of Massachusetts. I desire to state, in behalf of my colleagues, that in order to save the time of the Convention we are willing to withdraw the call for the vote by States, reserving the right, however, if the vote shall seem to be in the negative, then to call for the vote by States.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read as amended.

The Secretary, Mr. Broadwell, read as follows:

"The Republican party, adhering to the principle affirmed by its last National Convention, of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the Legislative with the Executive Department of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service."

Mr. WINKLER, of Wisconsin. I, for one, want to declare my thorough indorsement of that resolution.

The PRESIDENT. The call for the vote by States is withdrawn for the present, if the Convention consent.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question now recurs upon the entire platform as amended.

The resolutions, as amended, were then adopted.

RECESS.

Mr. CRESWELL, of Maryland. [The time being 5:20 p. m.] After our very long and tedious services to-day I think it is due to the body of the Convention, and would greatly accelerate the future business of the Convention, that we should now take a recess until seven o'clock.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair asks leave, before putting that question, to make a statement to the Convention. An inquiry has been made of the Chair whether it is within his power to issue an order excluding all intoxicating liquors from this building. The Chair does not conceive that he has that power, but he asks the unanimous consent of the Convention that an order be passed that no such liquors be admitted in the building until the final adjournment of the Convention. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered by the Convention. The question is now upon the motion of the gentleman from Maryland, that the Convention take a recess until seven o'clock.

Mr. CRESWELL. That motion is not debatable.

The PRESIDENT. The motion is debatable under the rules.  
Mr. CRESWELL. Not under the rules of the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is right; the motion is not debatable.

The motion was agreed to.

So the Convention, at five o'clock and twenty-five minutes, p. m., took a recess until seven o'clock this evening.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The PRESIDENT. [The hour being 7, p. m.] The Secretary will read a communication which has been received by the Chair.

#### THE GAVEL.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

CHICAGO, June 5th, 1880.

*To the Honorable President of the Republican National Convention:*

DEAR SIR: The gavel which lies upon your desk possesses historic associations and interest. The head of the gavel is made from a piece of wood taken from the home of Abraham Lincoln, which he left to accept the Presidential chair, and to that home he never returned. The handle of the gavel is made from a cane grown on the Mount Vernon estate, to which Washington returned when the people of our whole country could live in peace, and in the possession of all their rights under the flag of our country. May I ask that you will accept this gavel as a memento of one of the most interesting Conventions in the history of our party.

Very truly yours,

JAMES P. ROOT.

#### THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. President:* I move that the roll of States be called, that announcement may be made of the members of the National Committee, as selected by the States and Territories and the District of Columbia.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine moves that the roll of States be called, that announcement of the members of the National Committee from each State may be received. The Secretary will read the rule adopted, so far as it relates to the call of the roll.

The Secretary read as follows:

"Rule 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall name, through its chairman, a person to act as member of such Committee."

The motion was agreed to.

The roll of States was then called and the following named gentlemen were appointed members of the National Committee:

Alabama.....	Paul Strobach.
Arkansas.....	S. W. Dorsey.
California.....	Horace Davis.
Colorado.....	John L. Routt.
Connecticut.....	Marshall Jewell.
Delaware.....	Christian Febiger.
Florida.....	William W. Hicks.
Georgia.....	James G. Deveaux.
Illinois.....	John A. Logan.
Indiana.....	John C. New.
Iowa.....	John S. Runnels.
Kansas.....	John A. Martin.
Kentucky.....	Wm. O. Bradley.
Louisiana.....	Henry C. Warmoth.
Maine.....	William P. Frye.
Maryland.....	James A. Gary.
Massachusetts.....	John M. Forbes.
Michigan.....	James H. Stone.
Minnesota.....	D. M. Sabin.
Mississippi.....	George C. McKee.
Missouri.....	Chauncy I. Filley.
Nebraska.....	James W. Dawes.
Nevada.....	J. W. Mackey.
New Hampshire.....	W. E. Chandler.
New Jersey.....	George E. Halsey.
New York.....	Thomas C. Platt.
North Carolina.....	W. P. Canady.
Ohio.....	W. C. Cooper.
Oregon.....	D. C. Ireland.
Pennsylvania.....	J. D. Cameron.
Rhode Island.....	William A. Pierce.
South Carolina.....	Samuel Lee.
Tennessee.....	William Rule.
Texas.....	_____
Vermont.....	George W. Hooker.
Virginia.....	Samuel L. Yost.
West Virginia.....	John W. Mason.
Wisconsin.....	Elihu Enos.
Arizona.....	R. C. McCormick.
Dakota.....	_____
District of Columbia.....	_____
Idaho.....	George L. Shoup.
Montana.....	Alex. H. Beattie.
New Mexico.....	Stephen B. Elkins.
Utah.....	C. W. Bennett.
Washington.....	Thomas T. Miner.
Wyoming.....	Joseph L. Carey.

During the roll-call:

On the call of the State of Alabama.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. "Paul Strobach."

Mr. PARSONS, of Alabama. Before his name is entered upon the roll as a member of the National Committee from the State of Alabama, I would state that there have been three members in the Alabama delegation unseated, who acted when Mr. Strobach was named, and three others have since been put in, and that there was also one member of the delegation absent at the time Mr. Strobach was named. I would ask that no action be taken, or that his name be not entered upon the roll, until further action be taken by the delegation of members who have been declared elected and entitled to seats on this floor.

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama. Nineteen members of the Alabama delegation, sir, met, and with substantial unanimity selected the gentleman that I have named to be the member of the National Executive Committee from Alabama. No meeting has been held or called for since that meeting by the members of the delegation for the purpose of changing this name, and I insist under the motion which has been carried here that the name of Mr. Strobach be recorded from Alabama.

The PRESIDENT. Under the rule adopted by the Convention the report of the Chairman must be accepted as conclusive for this purpose. If any point is made it must be brought to the attention of the Convention hereafter, by proper motion. The Clerk will proceed with the roll-call.

On the call of the Territory of Dakota.

Mr. WARNER, of Dakota. "Seth Bullock."

Mr. MCCOY, of Dakota. Mr. President: I have been instructed by the Territorial Republican convention of Dakota to present the name of the Hon. Newton Edmunds as a member of the National Committee. In compliance with this instruction I present his name.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call Dakota again.

The Territory of Dakota was again called.

Mr. MCCOY. I hold in my hands a paper which I will send to the Secretary to be read.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will cause the communication to be read for the information of the Convention.

The Secretary read as follows:

"At the Territorial Republican convention, held at Fargo, on May 19, 1880, it was resolved that the delegates to the National Convention be instructed to present the name of Newton Edmunds for a member of the Republican National Committee. I therefore, pursuant to said resolution, present his name for the purposes aforesaid.

"C. T. MCCOY, *Delegate from Dakota.*"

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT. The Territory of Dakota will be passed until the order of the Convention is executed, two persons being presented by that delegation. The Secretary will proceed with the call. We will come back to Dakota after having called the other Territories.

At the conclusion of the roll-call (no names having been presented for the State of Texas or the District of Columbia):

The PRESIDENT. The delegates from the State of Texas and the District of Columbia ask unanimous consent to present the

names from that State and that Territory to the Convention at a later period. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none. From the Territory of Dakota two names are presented, neither being presented according to the rule, the delegation being not agreed.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. I move that the question of the member of the National Committee from Dakota be referred to the new National Committee, with power to designate who shall fill the place.

Mr. CONKLING. Is that in order? It is not, under the rule, I submit. I object to it.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York objects. The Chair is of opinion that the motion is in order. It is a method of filling a vacancy in a committee that has been completed as far as possible under the rule.

The motion was agreed to.

#### FILLING VACANCIES IN THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. DRAKE, of Minnesota. *Mr. President:* I wish to offer a resolution relating to the National Committee.

The Secretary read as follows:

*"Resolved, That in case of the death or resignation of any member of the Republican National Committee the vacancy may be filled by appointment made by the State Central committee of the proper State, or Territory, or District."*

The resolution was adopted.

#### NOMINATIONS FOR PRESIDENT.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. President:* I move that the roll of States be called in alphabetical order, and that whenever any State shall be reached from which a nomination is to be made for a candidate for President, the nomination be made under the rules adopted by this Convention.

Mr. LOGAN, of Illinois. I would like to make an inquiry.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state the question first. The gentleman from Maine moves that the roll of States be now called alphabetically, and that nominations be received whenever any State is reached from which a nomination is made under the rule already adopted by the Convention.

Mr. LOGAN. I did not hear the rule. At the time the rules were read at the desk I did not clearly understand, in reference to seconding nominations, whether more than one seconding speech would be allowed or not.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the rule on the subject of nominations for President.

The Secretary, Mr. Broadwell, read as follows:

*"Rule 9. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the Convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes in presenting the name of such candidate."*

Mr. LOGAN. Read the other portion of the rule.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. LOGAN. Before the question is put, there are quite a number of gentlemen here who desire information whether or not, under that rule, more than one person is allowed to second a nomination. That was the inquiry that I made.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair does not understand that there is any provision for seconding a nomination under the rule as adopted.

Mr. LOGAN. Then do I understand that under that rule there is only allowed the presentation of a name, without the seconding of the nomination? I merely desire to get it so that we will understand it.

The PRESIDENT. Ten minutes are allowed for the presenting of a name. There is no provision for seconding the nomination.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. *Mr. President:* In the discussion in the Committee on Rules all the precedents of former Conventions of the Republican party were examined, and this is the rule that has prevailed. Under the practice, if the time for nomination, the ten minutes, was not exhausted, other speakers might exhaust the ten minutes; but, by the leave of the Convention, frequently an extension of the time was granted, and I presume always will be, for the rule provides for it if such leave is asked; and I have no doubt that in case the question arises the Chair will ask unanimous consent for further time in case it be called for.

Mr. LOGAN. I make no objection to the rule, but merely inquire what it is. The other inquiry is as to the rule restricting nominations from the States.

Mr. GARFIELD. The rule is that when the State is reached from which the candidate comes, any delegate, either from that State or any other, may present his name.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. President:* That there may be no confusion, if the gentleman from Ohio will give me his attention for a moment I will endeavor to state what I think will regulate this matter. As I understand the rule, as it was interpreted four years ago, it applies to the person *who moves the nomination*, and not to the candidate. For instance, when a State is reached from which a nomination is to be made—not in which the candidate lives, but from which the nomination is to be made—it is then made.

Mr. GARFIELD. The gentleman may be correct about that. The rule itself the Chair will doubtless construe.

The PRESIDENT. It seems proper that this matter should be understood by the Convention before the proceedings begin, so that nobody might be embarrassed by a ruling made by the Chair afterwards. If the Convention permit a seconding of the nomination of any candidate, it would be inconvenient if the person who makes the nomination comes from a State found later on the roll than the person seconding the nomination.

Mr. CONGER. Before there be any requests for unanimous consent, I think it would be well to ask unanimous consent for each case. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that there may be allowed five minutes to one person to second each nomination, and that that time be granted immediately after the nomination is made.

The PRESIDENT. The Convention will listen to the request. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent that in the case of each nomination there be granted five minutes for a second of that

nomination, to be occupied immediately after the person making the nomination is concluded. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. It is so ordered.

A DELEGATE, from Kentucky. I ask, Mr. President, that the person desiring to second the nomination be allowed ten minutes.

Several DELEGATES. "Oh, no."

The PRESIDENT. That is objected to. The question now arises on the motion of the gentleman from Maine [Mr. Frye], that the roll of States be called in alphabetical order, and that nominations be received. The roll of States will now be called in execution of the order of the Convention.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll of States.

#### NOMINATION OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

On the call of the State of Michigan.

Mr. JOY, of Michigan. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I shall never cease to regret that circumstances have been such as to impose the duty upon myself to make the nomination of a candidate to this Convention. I have been absent from the country for the past two months, and had but arrived home just before this Convention. Since the Convention has been in session I have been employed upon the floor all the time. If, therefore, words of mine are important for the candidate who shall be proposed, they will benefit him but little. I will, however, bring him before the Convention in as brief a manner as possible. That it will be very brief will, I presume, satisfy the Convention and the audience, because we are now all impatient for the voting.

It was in 1860, I think, that a then young man, born in the old Keystone State, but resident in the State of Maine, entered the House of Representatives. It was at that time when the sky was lowering, when the horizon was filled with clouds, indicating a tempest. It was just before the war. The tempest burst upon the country, and the war ensued, which raged for four long years. Fortunately for us, there were at the helm of the ship of State the right men, and it was manned with the right crew. After the whirlwind of war had raged for four years, the elements of strength in one of the contending parties gave way, and peace at length settled down upon the country. Then ensued the contest of reconstruction, which occupied nearly three or four years more. During all that period of time that young man, always true, always brave, always eloquent, applied his talent in all the debates and in all the procedures which were necessary either to carry on the war or to bring about reconstruction upon a proper basis.

During the period of these controversies his reputation had been constantly growing, until at last, when, in 1868, reconstruction had been practically secured, his reputation was towering before the country, and his name had become one of its great names, and had spread abroad all over the land. It had become a household word. It was familiar in every corner. It was looked up to from every part of the country. The name was that of the Hon. James G. Blaine, the Senator from Maine. When the stormy period of Andrew Johnson's administration had passed, or was passing away, and Gen. Grant was nominated for President of the United States, all



eyes turned to James G. Blaine, who was called upon to canvass the country. He canvassed it from Maine to the Mississippi, and beyond. He made himself familiar with the great North and the great West, and the people in the North and in the West became familiar with him. He had about him that wonderful power of attraction which a half century earlier was possessed in the most eminent degree also by another great man of this country, the great son of the great State of Kentucky—Henry Clay.

On the second nomination of Gen. Grant, in 1872, James G. Blaine was called upon in the same way, and he traversed the country exercising his power, his ability and his eloquence over the same extent of this northern territory. He had become so well known, the people had become so well acquainted with him, he had fastened them to him by attractions so great, that in the Convention which was held at Cincinnati four years ago he had become the leading candidate of the Northern people for the Presidency of the United States. He was the favorite candidate of the State which I represent in this Convention. Its delegates went to that Convention with a view of urging and securing, if it were possible, his nomination. He came within a few votes of success, when for some reason his column broke, and the result was another nomination, which had not been before the country. You all know the disappointment, you all know, perhaps, the astonishment which was created in some sections of the country at that result. In the State which I have the honor to represent upon this floor it was considered almost a calamity to the individual members of the Republican party. They felt it almost as a personal blow. But while he might have been disappointed reasonably in the result, when the canvass came, and when the fight was a close one, and when it was doubtful whether the Republicans would succeed in electing their candidate, although he had been repudiated at the Convention, he buckled on his harness, he entered the ranks, he traversed the country, and fought manfully, gloriously and vigorously until the battle was won, though by a small majority.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. CARTER, of Mississippi. I hope unanimous consent will be given to the gentleman to close his remarks.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman cannot proceed without unanimous consent.

Mr. GARFIELD. I am sure no man will object. I ask the Chair to allow the gentleman to proceed.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will proceed, no objection being made.

Mr. JOY. The result was, gentlemen, that he endeared himself ten-fold more to the working Republicans of this Northwest than he had ever done before. And when this Convention was called, the people of the State which I represent, and which had so earnestly advocated him before, determined again to place him before this Convention. I am but executing their wish when I do so.

Now, I will say with regard to the State of Michigan, it is not a doubtful State. It is a State which stands by its banner all the time. It will not matter, so far as the work, the vigor and the energy which that State will put into the contest, whether he be nominated here or not. We stand by the flag there, whoever may be the standard-bearer.

With these remarks, gentlemen, which have been longer than I intended, I have the honor to present to this Convention, as a candidate for the Presidential chair for the ensuing term, to be voted for by the people, the name of the Hon. James G. Blaine, of the State of Maine. [Loud and long-continued applause.]

Mr. McBERTH, of Missouri. I want to know, Mr. President, if this Convention is going to be run by a mob; whether it is capable of running itself and maintain order, or whether the galleries are going to drive this Convention from the purpose for which it came here. I want to know if we are capable of running this Convention, or whether this mob shall drive us out. Mr. Chairman, I ask this: that if the galleries will not be so kind as to allow us to proceed with our business, with a certain amount of cheering, a proper amount of recognition, then we, as members of this Convention, shall have to ask that the galleries be cleared entirely, that the business of the Convention may be transacted in a business-like and gentlemanly manner.

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from California is entitled to five minutes.

Mr. PIXLEY. *Mr. President and Gentlemen, Delegates of the Republican National Convention:* I have been assigned to a most pleasurable duty. It has been accorded to me by the desire of my associates and by the consent of the friends of Mr. Blaine, that I should have the honor to second his nomination in this Convention for the office of President of the United States. All the delegates of the Territories of Washington, Idaho and Arizona, the States of Oregon, Nevada and California, composing, together, the magnificent Empire of the Pacific—than which a grander and prouder empire elsewhere does not exist under the sun—unite with me in the pleasure of this opportunity to second the nomination of Mr. Blaine, and will supplement the compliment by casting for him the united vote of all the States and all the Territories composing this Pacific Empire.

Our delegation, though limited in numbers, represents an empire broad in territorial area, extending with Alaska, from the eternal ice of the Arctic seas to the semi-tropical belt where the apple and the pineapple grow side by side, extending from the wave-washed golden sands of the Western sea to the rock-ribbed mountains that separate, but do not divide, us from you, our Eastern friends; embracing a present wealth of gold and grain, and wine and wool, and an incalculable future wealth that shall yet astonish the world. It is a broad and splendid domain. Its western shore looks eastward to eastern lands. Its golden gates stand wide ajar, to admit the rich commerce of the Orient and to welcome the intercourse necessary to its enjoyment. It is the future home of your children. It is the inheritance of your sons. It is the rich dower of your daughters. And we think, and all of our Republicans think, that the nomination of James G. Blaine will result in his becoming the President of the United States. And because we think, and because the whole of the Republican party think, that as President he will help to guard this rich empire, and to preserve it as the home and inheritance and dower of all the children of this Christian commonwealth, we have been sent here by the Territories of Washington, Idaho and Arizona, and the States of Nevada and California, a united delegation, to cast an unbroken vote for the distinguished statesman and Senator from Maine.

In him we recognize distinguished ability, that unflinching nerve which is at all times demanded in the performance of public duties;

the possession of an unstained name, which even partisan malice has been unable to blacken; the possession of a brain and a heart that embrace in their magnetic sympathy all his countrymen who love their country, honor its institutions and obey its laws. He is gifted, eloquent and brave; he is patriotic, honest and true; he has been tried in long public service, and may be trusted. He will carry into his great office no personal or party resentments; he will bring to the discharge of his official duties no local or sectional prejudices; he is broad-minded, comprehensive, and generous in the exercise of undaunted moral courage. He will dare to defy the baser political elements, and delight to surround himself with the best and ablest men of the Nation. He will call into the counsels of his Administration the tried and honored and honest men of his party. He will exert, to the fullest extent, the powers and prerogatives of the Presidential office, and secure to the humblest citizen the protection of the law. He will, in the performance of his executive duty, shirk no responsibility, nor seek to avoid any duty required of him by the Constitution and the law. His nomination will violate none of the time-honored traditions of the party—traditions that in their long-continued existence and force have become binding as the unwritten law of the land—traditions that ought to be more inviolable than formulated codes, and as sacred as the unwritten Constitution of our fathers. His nomination is demanded by the majority of the delegates from the solid Republican North, and it ought to be conceded by a solid South, that has everything to receive and nothing to give; that in the coming contest has everything to gain, and nothing, except honor, that it has not already lost. Give us this gentleman for a candidate, and we of the ultimate West pledge to you the gallant service of the gallant band of Republican soldiers that has now for these twenty years held and guarded the frontier outpost of the Republican army. We have never been surprised nor found off duty; we have never flinched a fight nor lost a Presidential battle; we have never allowed a Democratic vote to be deposited in the Electoral urn since we have been welcomed to the sisterhood of States. Give us this gentleman for a candidate, and we will go back to our homes with banners flying, with glad, proud hearts; our people will welcome and applaud us; our Western sea shall sound its roaring anthems across the continent to your Eastern ocean; our pine-clad Sierras shall nod their tassels in graceful courtesy to the bending plumes of Maine; and we, Mr. President and gentlemen, will give twelve Electoral votes to make James G. Blaine the next President of the United States.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine asks unanimous consent that he may have two minutes. Is there objection to giving him two minutes? The Chair hears none.

Mr. FRYE, of Maine. I saw, once, a storm at sea, in the night time. A stanch old ship fighting its fury! Darkness everywhere! The wind shrieking and howling through her rigging; the huge waves dashing against her sides; the lightning flashing, the thunder rolling—danger threatening all around. I saw at the helm her pilot, in all the tempest, calm; in all the turmoil, quiet; in all the danger, courageous; in all the threatenings, peaceful; in all the uncertainty, hopeful. Firm, steadfast, commanding, I saw him bring the tempest-tost ship into harbor, into peaceful waters, into safety! That pilot was a hero.

The good old ship, "The State of Maine," has just encountered such a tempest. Freightened with the precious principles of this

Republic, with the rights of American citizenship, with the privileges guaranteed by the Constitution, she was battling with the waves. The eyes of the whole Nation were upon her. They beheld, with intense anxiety, the terrible perils to which she was exposed. A true man was at her helm. Sagacious himself, he made even the foolish, wise, courageous; he inspired the timid. Strong, he strengthened the weak. Calm, he restrained the impetuous, and brought the imperilled ship, with her precious cargo, into the port of Safety, and there she floats to-day—stronger, better and safer from her baptism of danger. That man, too, was a hero, and his name is James G. Blaine! [Tremendous cheering.]

Maine sends greeting to this magnificent Convention, with the memory of her salvation from terrible perils fresh and vivid. She says to you, representatives of fifty millions of American people, who have met here to counsel together how this grand Republic shall be saved, "Take that man—wise, stout and brave—who is now fresh from her salvation, for your leader, and he will surely bring you to safety and glorious victory. [Loud and long-continued applause.]

NOMINATION OF WILLIAM WINDOM.

On the call of the State of Minnesota.

Mr. DRAKE, of Minnesota. The Republicans of the State of Minnesota place before this Convention as a candidate for the office of President of the United States the Hon. William Windom, of Minnesota. We believe that the candidate that we present will better unite all the discordant elements of the party than any of the distinguished names that will be before this Convention. Mr. Windom is a statesman of ripe experience. He has served twenty years in the Congress of the United States, and during all that time with acceptance to his constituents. Four times was he nominated as a Representative by acclamation, and twice elected to the Senate of the United States without opposition in his own party. During the dark days of the Rebellion he supported the country unflinchingly. His Republicanism is of a high order. He has ever, in all his public life, maintained a character unsullied for honesty. His private life is blameless. In his course he has ever sustained the cause of the oppressed and supported the Government loyally. Such is the candidate we present to you, and ask for your support. One word more, and I have done. Whomever this Convention may select to be the standard-bearer of the party, whether it is William Windom or either of the distinguished gentlemen whose names will come before you, I am authorized to pledge in advance, by the Republicans of Minnesota, to your nominee an unfaltering and unyielding support, and to give you the vote of Minnesota in November.

NOMINATION OF ULYSSES S. GRANT.

On the call of the State of New York.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York.

"And when asked what State he hails from,  
Our sole reply shall be,  
He hails from Appomattox,  
And its famous apple tree."

In obedience to instructions which I should never dare to disregard, expressing also my own firm convictions, I rise, Mr. President, in behalf of the State of New York, to propose a nomination with

which the country and the Republican party can grandly win. The election before us is the Austerlitz of American politics. It will decide, for many years, whether the country shall be Republican or Cossack. [The supreme need of the hour is not a candidate who can carry Michigan. All Republican candidates can do that. The need is not of a candidate popular in the Territories, because the Territories have no vote. The need is of a candidate who can carry doubtful States. Not the doubtful States of the North alone, but also doubtful States of the South, which we have heard, if I understood aright, ought to take little or no part here, because the South has nothing to give, but everything to receive. The need which urges itself on the conscience and reason of the Convention is of a candidate who can carry doubtful States both North and South. And believing that he, more surely than any other man, can carry New York against any opponent, and can carry not only the North, but several States of the South, New York is for Ulysses S. Grant.]

Never defeated—in peace or in war—his name is the most illustrious borne by living man.

His services attest his greatness, and the country—nay, the world—knows them by heart. His fame was earned not alone by things written and said, but by the arduous greatness of things done; and perils and emergencies will search in vain in the future, as they have searched in vain in the past, for any other on whom the Nation leans with such confidence and trust. Never having had a policy to enforce against the will of the people, he never betrayed a cause or a friend, and the people will never desert or betray him. Standing on the highest eminence of human distinction, modest, firm, simple, and self-poised, having filled all lands with his renown, he has seen not only the high-born and the titled, but the poor and the lowly, in the uttermost ends of the earth, rise and uncover before him. He has studied the needs and the defects of many systems of government; and he has returned a better American than ever, with a wealth of knowledge and experience added to the hard common sense which shone so conspicuously in all the fierce light that beat upon him during sixteen years, the most trying, the most portentous, the most perilous in the Nation's history.

Vilified and reviled, ruthlessly aspersed by unnumbered presses, not in other lands, but in his own, assaults upon him have seasoned and strengthened his hold on the public heart. Calumny's ammunition has all been exploded; the powder has all been burned once—its force is spent—and the name of Grant will glitter a bright and imperishable star in the diadem of the Republic when those who have tried to tarnish it have moldered in forgotten graves; and when their memories and their epitaphs have vanished utterly.

Never elated by success, never depressed by adversity, he has ever, in peace as in war, shown the very genius of common sense. The terms he presented for Lee's surrender foreshadowed the wisest prophecies and principles of true reconstruction. Victor in the greatest war of modern times, he quickly signalized his aversion to war and his love of peace by an arbitration of international disputes which stands the wisest, the most majestic example of its kind in the world's diplomacy.

When inflation, at the height of its popularity and frenzy, had swept both Houses of Congress, it was the veto of Grant, single and alone, which overthrew expansion and cleared the way for specie resumption. To him, immeasurably more than to any other man, is due the fact that every paper dollar is at last as good as gold.

With him as our leader, we shall have no defensive campaign. We shall have nothing to explain away. We shall have no apologies to make. The shafts and arrows have all been aimed at him, and they lie, broken and harmless, at his feet.

Life, liberty and property will find a safeguard in him. When he said of the colored men in Florida, "Wherever I am, they may come also," he meant that, had he the power, the poor dwellers in the cabins of the South should no longer be driven in terror from the homes of their childhood and the graves of their murdered dead. When he refused to receive Denis Kearney in California, he meant that communism, lawlessness and disorder, although it might stalk high-headed and dictate law to a whole city, would always find a foe in him. He meant that, popular or unpopular, he would hew to the line of right, let the chips fly where they may.

His integrity, his common sense, his courage, his unequalled experience, are the qualities offered to his country. The only argument—the *only* one—that the wit of man or the stress of politics has devised is one which would dumbfounder Solomon, because Solomon thought there was nothing new under the sun. Having tried Grant twice and found him faithful, we are told that we must not, even after an interval of years, trust him again. My countrymen!—my countrymen!—what stultification does not such a fallacy involve. The American people exclude Jefferson Davis from public trust. Why? Because he was the arch-traitor and would-be destroyer. And now the same people is asked to ostracize Grant, and not to trust *him*!—Why? Why? I repeat. Because he was the arch-preserver of his country, and because, not only in war, but twice as Civil Magistrate, he gave his highest, noblest efforts to the Republic. Is this an electioneering juggle or is it hypocrisy's masquerade? There is no field of human activity, responsibility or reason in which rational beings object to an agent because he has been weighed in the balance and not found wanting. There is, I say, no department of human reason in which sane men reject an agent because he has had experience, making him exceptionally competent and fit. From the man who shoes your horse to the lawyer who tries your cause, the officer who manages your railway or your mill, the doctor into whose hands you give your life, or the minister who seeks to save your soul—what man do you reject because by his works you have known him, and found him faithful and fit?

What makes the Presidential office an exception to all things else in the common-sense to be applied to selecting its incumbent? Who dares to put fetters on that free choice and judgment which is the birthright of the American people? Can it be said that Grant has used official power and place to perpetuate his term? He has no place, and official power has not been used for *him*. Without patronage, without emissaries, without committees, without bureaux, without telegraph wires running from his house or from the seats of influence to this Convention, without appliances, without electioneering contrivances, without effort on his part, Grant's name is on his country's lips. He is struck at by the whole Democratic party, because his nomination is the death-blow of Democratic success. He is struck at by others, who find an offense and disqualification in the very services he has rendered and the very experience he has gained. Show me a better man. Name one, and I am answered. But do not point as a disqualification to the very experience which makes this man fit beyond all others.

There is no "third term" in the case, and the pretense will die with the political dog-days that gendered it. One week after the Democratic convention we shall have heard the last of this rubbish about a "third term." Nobody now is really disquieted about a third term except those hopelessly longing for a first term, and their dupes and coadjutors. Without effort or intrigue on his part, he is the candidate whose friends have never threatened to bolt unless this Convention did as they said. He is a Republican who never wavers. He and his friends stand by the creed and the candidates of the Republican party. They hold the rightful rule of the majority as the very essence of their faith, and they mean to uphold that faith against not only the common enemy, but against the charlatans, jayhawkers, tramps and guerrillas who deploy between the lines and forage, now on one side and then on the other. This Convention is master of a supreme opportunity. It can name the next President of the United States. It can make sure of his election. It can make sure not only of his election, but of his certain and peaceful inauguration.

It can assure a Republican majority in the Senate and the House of Representatives. More than all, it can break that power which dominates and mildews the South. It can overthrow an organization whose very existence is a standing protest against progress.

The purpose of the Democratic party is spoils. Its very hope and existence is a solid South. Its success is a menace to order and prosperity. This Convention can overthrow and disintegrate these hurtful forces. It can dissolve and emancipate a distracted "solid South." It can speed the Nation in a career of grandeur eclipsing all past achievements.

Gentlemen, we have only to listen above the din and look beyond the dust of an hour, to behold the Republican party advancing, with its ensigns resplendent with illustrious achievement, marching to certain and lasting victory, with its greatest Marshal at its head.

Mr. BRADLEY, of Kentucky. *Mr. President*—

Mr. MITCHELL, of Nebraska. *Mr. President*: I desire to give notice that when the five minutes are up I shall insist upon the rule.

Mr. BRADLEY. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention*: I have never before witnessed such a scene of enthusiasm as this, and never expect to again until after the election of Gen. Grant in November. We, too, heard the portentous storm of which the gentleman from Maine spoke. We beheld the bright lightning and heard the rolling thunder in its stately march. We saw the old ship of State—strained in every timber—tossed upon the foaming waves of an angry sea. Again we beheld her as she safely entered port, but the pilot who sat at her wheel was the grand old hero, magnificent in the majesty of his silence. I desire to second the nomination of that man who, through the goodness of God, during the darkest hours of our nationality, became the leader of the noblest army whose banners ever darkened the sky. Swept on by the waters of the lordly Mississippi from victory to victory, he at length wound his grand army like a serpent around the embattled hosts of treason and crushed them within its ample folds. He gave voice and strength to the proclamation which struck the shackles from four millions of fellow-creatures. The merciless slave-driver tremblingly read it by the flash of victorious cannon. He pinned it on the breast of murderous treason with a million loyal bayonets. And when the Confederate chieftain surrendered his sword, he accepted it with one

hand while with the other he gave substantial aid to his brave and fallen foe. There never was a success, however complete, that witnessed his persecution of a powerless enemy; there never was a misfortune, however dire, that visited his country or his friend, that witnessed his betrayal of either. Called by a grateful people twice to the office of President, to perfect that which was baptized with the fires of battle and sealed with the covenant of blood, he at all times proved honest, efficient, capable and brave. By his wise statesmanship our relations with other countries were extended and strengthened; protection was offered the humblest man beneath the flag, and arbitration palsied the hand of war. And when the hour of financial distress came upon us, and some of our most trusted leaders were lost in its tangled meshes, in a laconic message of half a dozen lines he dispersed the angry horde that was clamoring at the door of the Treasury, and made specie resumption a possibility.

Descending from this high estate, he girded the earth with renown as he traveled in the pathway of the sun. Wherever he journeyed kings lifted their crowns in recognition of his merit and nations hastened to do him honor. But amid all this pageant, this hero-worship, this grandest experience the world has ever known, he ever remained the plain and unassuming American citizen. We heard his voice as it came over the white caps of the sea: "It is not on my account these honors are done me, but by reason of the great country I represent." In this momentous hour, when we reflect upon our recent history; when we remember that only a few months since the dominant party in Congress undertook to starve the Nation to death and to throttle the Executive; when we recollect that only a short while after that Democracy attempted to defeat the will of Maine at the ballot-box; when we recall the recent threats of those exalted in power to inaugurate their President, whether elected or not, we turn instinctively to Grant.

We demand a man whose name will carry terror to the hearts of our country's foes. We demand a man at the sound of whose bugle-call a million soldiers will spring into being to inaugurate him if legally elected. We demand a man who, rising to the necessities of the hour, may say, "Let us have peace," and whose voice will be heard and heeded all over our beautiful land. We demand a man whose name is the synonym of power—not kingly power, but the power which represents a preserved nationality on the one hand and a defeated treason on the other. I come not here to sound the praises of a trained politician; of a trumpeter who, inciting others to battle, slyly creeps away, hiding himself during the conflict, and when it is over crawls forth to claim the victory which others have honorably won. He sits enthroned in the hearts of fifty millions of people, wearing no imperial crown, but a wreath of modest laurel, in which glitter such names as Donelson, Vicksburg, Shiloh and Appomattox.

The slanders of lying tongues, the malice of envious hearts, have not been able to tear a single leaf from that crown. They may for a moment have darkened the lustre of his name, but, vanishing before the light of truth as clouds before the sun, have left it only brighter by the contrast. His fame is as broad as the universe, as deep as the ocean which with pride so recently bore him on her bosom, and will live as long as the heavens bend above us or the stars are reflected in the sea.

Kentucky, holding within her bosom the ashes of the "Great Commoner," and in her heart the memory of her best and greatest



native son, the adopted child of Illinois and our martyred President, instructs me, in the name of these and her hundred thousand brave soldiers who marched under his command, to second the nomination of U. S. Grant. [Long-continued applause.]

#### NOMINATION OF JOHN SHERMAN.

#### On the call of the State of Ohio.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. *Mr. President:* I have witnessed the extraordinary scenes of this Convention with deep solicitude. Nothing touches my heart more quickly than a tribute of honor to a great and noble character; but as I sat in my seat and witnessed this demonstration, this assemblage seemed to me a human ocean in tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into fury and tossed into spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man; but I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea from which all heights and depths are measured.

When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when the sunlight bathes its peaceful surface, then the astronomer and surveyor take the level from which they measure all terrestrial heights and depths.

Gentlemen of the Convention, your present temper may not mark the healthful pulse of our people. When your enthusiasm has passed, when the emotions of this hour have subsided, we shall find below the storm and passion that calm level of public opinion from which the thoughts of a mighty people are to be measured, and by which their final action will be determined.

Not here, in this brilliant circle where 15,000 men and women are gathered, is the destiny of the Republic to be decreed for the next four years. Not here, where I see the enthusiastic faces of 756 delegates, waiting to cast their lots into the urn and determine the choice of the Republic; but by four millions of Republican firesides, where the thoughtful voters, with wives and children about them, with the calm thoughts inspired by love of home and country, with the history of the past, the hopes of the future, and reverence for the great men who have adorned and blessed our nation in days gone by, burning in their hearts—*there* God prepares the verdict which will determine the wisdom of our work to-night. Not in Chicago, in the heat of June, but at the ballot-boxes of the Republic, in the quiet of November, after the silence of deliberate judgment, will this question be settled. And now, gentlemen of the Convention, what do we want?

A VOICE. "We want Garfield."

Mr. GARFIELD. Bear with me a moment. "Hear me for my cause," and for a moment "be silent that you may hear."

Twenty-five years ago, this Republic was bearing and wearing a triple chain of bondage. Long familiarity with traffic in the bodies and souls of men had paralyzed the consciences of a majority of our people; the narrowing and disintegrating doctrine of State-sovereignty had shackled and weakened the noblest and most beneficent powers of the National Government; and the grasping power of slavery was seizing upon the virgin Territories of the West, and dragging them into the den of eternal bondage.

At that crisis the Republican party was born. It drew its first inspiration from that fire of liberty which God has lighted in every human heart, and which all the powers of ignorance and tyranny

can never wholly extinguish. The Republican party came to deliver and to save. It entered the arena where the beleaguered and assailed Territories were struggling for freedom, and drew around them the sacred circle of liberty, which the demon of Slavery has never dared to cross. It made them free forever. Strengthened by its victory on the frontier, the young party, under the leadership of that great man who, on this spot, twenty years ago, was made its chief, entered the national capitol and assumed the high duties of government. The light which shone from its banner illumined its pathway to power. Every slave-pen and the shackles of every slave within the shadow of the capitol were consumed in the re-kindled fire of freedom.

Our great national industries by cruel and calculating neglect had been prostrated, and the streams of revenue flowed in such feeble currents that the treasury itself was well-nigh empty. The money of the people consisted mainly of the wretched notes of two thousand uncontrolled and irresponsible State banking corporations, which were filling the country with a circulation that poisoned, rather than sustained the life of business.

The Republican party changed all this. It abolished the Babel of confusion and gave to the country a currency as national as its flag, based upon the sacred faith of the People.

It threw its protecting arm around our great industries, and they stood erect with new life. It filled with the spirit of true nationality all the great functions of the government. It confronted a Rebellion of unexampled magnitude, with slavery behind it, and, under God, fought the final battle of Liberty until the victory was won.

Then, after the storms of battle, were heard the calm words of peace spoken by the conquering nation, saying to the foe that lay prostrate at its feet: "This is our only revenge—that you join us in lifting into the serene firmament of the Constitution, to shine like stars for ever and ever, the immortal principles of truth and justice: that all men, white or black, shall be free, and shall stand equal before the law."

Then came the questions of reconstruction, the national debt, and the keeping of the public faith.

In the settlement of these questions, the Republican party has completed its twenty-five years of glorious existence, and it has sent us here to prepare it for another lustrum of duty and of victory. How shall we accomplish this great work? We cannot do it, my friends, by assailing our Republican brethren. God forbid that I should say one word, or cast one shadow upon any name on the roll of our heroes. The coming fight is our Thermopylæ. We are standing upon a narrow isthmus. If our Spartan hosts are united, we can withstand all the Persians that the Xerxes of Democracy can bring against us. Let us hold our ground this one year, and then "the stars in their courses" will fight for us. The census will bring reinforcements and continued power. But in order to win victory now, we want the vote of every Republican—of every Grant Republican, and every anti-Grant Republican, in America—of every Blaine man and every anti-Blaine man. The vote of every follower of every candidate is needed to make success certain. Therefore I say, gentlemen and brethren, we are here to take calm counsel together and inquire what we shall do.

We want a man whose life and opinions embody all the achievements of which I have spoken. We want a man who, standing on a mountain height, traces the victorious footsteps of our party in

the past, and carrying in his heart the memory of its glorious deeds, looks forward prepared to meet the dangers to come. We want one who will act in no spirit of unkindness towards those we lately met in battle. The Republican party offers to our brethren of the South the olive branch of Peace, and invites them to renewed brotherhood, on this supreme condition: That it shall be admitted, forever, that in the War for the Union we were right and they were wrong. On that supreme condition we meet them as brethren, and ask them to share with us the blessings and honors of this great Republic.

Now, gentlemen, not to weary you, I am about to present a name for your consideration—the name of one who was the comrade, associate and friend of nearly all the noble dead, whose faces look down upon us from these walls to-night [referring to portraits of Lincoln, Sumner, Wade, Chandler and other eminent Americans, hanging in the hall]; a man who began his career of public service twenty-five years ago; who courageously confronted the slave power in the days of peril on the plains of Kansas, when first began to fall the red drops of that bloody shower which finally swelled into the deluge of gore in the late Rebellion. He bravely stood by young Kansas, and returning to his seat in the National Legislature, his pathway, through all the subsequent years, has been marked by labors worthily performed in every department of legislation.

You ask for his monument. I point you to twenty-five years of National Statutes. Not one great, beneficent law has been placed on our statute books without his intelligent and powerful aid. He aided in formulating the laws to raise the great Armies and Navies which carried us through the war. His hand was seen in the workmanship of those statutes that restored and brought back "the unity and married calm of States." His hand was in all that great legislation that created the war currency, and in the still greater work that redeemed the promises of the Government and made that currency equal to gold. When at last he passed from the halls of legislation into a high executive office, he displayed that experience, intelligence, firmness, and poise of character, which has carried us through a stormy period of three years, with one-half the public press crying "crucify him," and a hostile Congress seeking to prevent success. In all this he remained unmoved until victory crowned him. The great fiscal affairs of the nation, and the vast business interests of the country he guarded and preserved while executing the law of resumption, and effected its object without a jar, and against the false prophecies of one-half of the press and of all the Democratic party. He has shown himself able to meet with calmness the great emergencies of the Government. For twenty-five years he has trodden the perilous heights of public duty, and against all the shafts of malice has borne his breast unharmed. He has stood in the blaze of "that fierce light that beats against the throne;" but its fiercest ray has found no flaw in his armor, no stain upon his shield. I do not present him as a better Republican or a better man than thousands of others that we honor; but I present him for your deliberate and favorable consideration. I nominate John Sherman of Ohio. [Long-continued applause.]

Mr. WINCKLER, of Wisconsin. *Mr. President:* As a representative from the commercial metropolis of Wisconsin, I desire to express our appreciation of enlightened statesmanship by seconding the nomination of John Sherman.

Yielding to no man in the tribute I would pay to those who hastened to the defense of the Nation in the hour of rebellious attack, and who have since then stood by the principles of human freedom, I nevertheless confess to an especial regard for those who have stood by the cradle of the Republican party, and who, in the dark days, when it required all the moral courage that a human soul could sustain to maintain a great principle, came forward and laid down the first platform for the enfranchisement of the enslaved race. And, Mr. President, when I look back on the course of years, I am proud to see there in that early day, in a most conspicuous place, the candidate whom I now support. We see him encountering peril on the plains of Kansas, and contributing his share of all that one man could contribute to the great achievement of that day, to making Kansas free. I am proud to see him at that early day, and within a few years after, singled out as the worthy leader of the Republican party in that earnest conflict in the House of Representatives in 1859, when the Republican party for nearly two months, day after day, cast their votes for John Sherman for Speaker, in which conflict he only failed of success because he was too radical a Republican to conciliate Democratic votes. From that time forth he has been greatly honored; he has been greatly trusted; and it is not too much to say that in every public trust he has administered he has exceeded the expectations of his friends. And thus advancing through a term of years, always a leader, always intrusted with important interests, we see him to-day standing before us as the acknowledged and foremost finance minister of the world.

I do not claim for his hand the touch of magic, least of all would I claim for him the doubtful talent of pyrotechnics; but I do claim that he, in the administration of public affairs, would give us the most precious gift that we could ask—absolute safety to all the great and varied interests of the land. His administration would afford the most absolute safety to all our industries, and it would afford the same absolute safety to the humblest citizen appealing for his rights. It is such a man in the era of peace, and for the purposes of peace, a statesman in the very best sense of the word, that we would put at the helm of State.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Elliott, of South Carolina, asks unanimous consent of the Convention to further second the nomination which has been proposed. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. ELLIOTT, of South Carolina. *Mr. President:* From the land of the bulldozer and the tissue-ballot we have come, with ready feet, to stand once again with you around the altar of our party dedicated to universal liberty, there to renew our obligations of loyalty to our country, and of fealty to our party. We have come, gentlemen, appealing to you who represent constituencies from more favored sections of our country to put in nomination for the support of the country only such candidates as will be most certain to meet the country's approval. This, gentlemen, is the purport of our mission.

While we have thus come, you will pardon me, on behalf of a portion of the delegation from the South, and at their request, to respond to the nomination of the distinguished statesman whose name has been presented by the gentleman from Ohio. And in so doing I would not seek to take one single jewel from the rich diadem of heart-felt gratitude with which his countrymen have gemmed the proud coronet of that distinguished soldier whose name has been presented by the gentleman from New York. Nor would I willingly pluck one single flower from that bright garland of hearty appreciation with

which an admiring and grateful people have encircled the brow of the gallant leader, James G. Blaine. By the greatness of the services he has rendered to his country, by the magnitude of the achievements he has wrought for his party, he has won the proud title of a leader among leaders. Whatever may be our individual preferences in the selection of a Presidential nominee, we can do no otherwise than render our fullest meed of praise to James G. Blaine, of Maine. Nor, gentlemen, would I willingly utter one single word that could be justly regarded as an intention on my part to take away one jot or tittle from the just fame of any other candidate. While bestowing upon the other gentlemen whose names are in nomination full tribute, I nevertheless must heartily respond to the nomination of the distinguished patriot and statesman, John Sherman, of Ohio.

I respond to his nomination because, by his long and consistent advocacy of the Right, by his far-seeing and enlightened views upon all public questions, by his sublime moral enthusiasm, he has lifted himself up beyond the plane of ordinary politics into the higher and grander region of American statesmanship. I respond to the nomination of John Sherman because he is a man of well-defined and approved methods. In his aims he is always direct, and in the selection and acquirement of means for their accomplishment he has always been likewise direct. I support the nomination of John Sherman because, a friend to humanity, he has been for a quarter of a century the unyielding and consistent champion of human rights everywhere. When were the rights of man ever called in question—when did the claims of humanity need a champion—that the voice of John Sherman was not heard in their defense?

Believing that his country, under Divine Providence, is fitted for the highest possible destiny, when has he ever failed to uphold its just cause or to defend its honor? Believing that the true grandeur of the Nation must rest not alone upon its vast resources or upon its physical power, but as well upon its fine sense of natural justice, when has he ever failed to insist upon the fullest and strictest enforcement of the golden rule, in all its dealings, whether with nations or with individuals?

Gentlemen of the Convention, I respond to the nomination of John Sherman because his whole life has been a continual battle against all forms of oppression, of caste prejudice, and of human injustice. I support the nomination of John Sherman, of Ohio, because I believe that, if he should be the nominee of this Convention, the rights of every citizen of the United States, without regard to their race or their nationality, without regard to their station or condition in life, will receive the fullest protection at his hands.

Gentlemen of the Convention, I respond to the nomination of John Sherman, of Ohio, because I cannot forget how, with that heroism greater than Roman devotion itself, for nine long weeks in the Thirty-sixth Congress he stood as the shining mark for the concentrated hate of the Pro-Slavery party of the country, on account of his devotion to principle and his patriotism to his country. I support the nomination of John Sherman because, in the Thirty-fourth Congress, in the election of a Speaker, he stood there pledging himself to a continual warfare against slavery until it should be extinguished from the land. Who can forget his utterance when he said, "I will unite with men of all parties and of all shades of opinion who will steadily aid in preserving our Western Territories to free labor; and I say that I never will support any man for Speaker of this House unless he convinces me, by his conduct and

by his views, that he never will, if he has the power to prevent it, permit the institution of slavery to derive any advantage from repealing the compromise of 1820."

These, Mr. President, were words, indeed, of glad tidings to the slave and of rich promise to the friends of freedom. Throughout the whole memorable period of reconstruction, on all the measures for the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and for the suppression of ku-kluxism in the South, the voice of John Sherman was heard vigorously insisting upon the vindication of the rights of the citizen and the strict observance of the laws of the country. I support the nomination of John Sherman because, in addition to the reasons that I have already assigned, he has, by his genius and by his energy, by his prudent management, directed by wise forethought, advanced the interests of the country, restored the currency to a sound basis, and established, beyond all danger of adversity, the success of our industries. Gentlemen of the Convention, it is not my purpose to trespass upon the time of this Convention. I have endeavored, briefly, to bring the thoughts that I desire to express within the limits of the time fixed by the Convention for seconding or supporting nominations.

I am aware that gentlemen in this Convention have their preferences; I have mine. And we desire to present our candidate to this Convention, asking for its support, believing that if John Sherman is the nominee of the Republican party he will be able to bring success to the banners of the Republican party. We believe that if John Sherman is the nominee of this Convention he will be able to carry States which are said to be doubtful. It has been said that he could not carry any of the States of the South. Neither can any other candidate, in my judgment, that can be named by this Convention, secure a single electoral vote in the South. With a solid Democratic South, controlling 188 votes in the Electoral College, with the voice of loyalty hushed throughout the entire South-land, with universal suffrage practically abolished, with free speech strangled, a race of helpless people, subject to the domination and control of treason itself, I confess to you that we must rely entirely upon you who come from the Republican States of the North and West to carry our party to victory. And whatever others may say, I desire to express this one thought, that if the Republican party goes into the canvass relying upon any State in the South as an element of calculation for success, it cannot triumph. Gentlemen, we shall certainly do all that we can to help you in the canvass. We will put the votes in the ballot-box; but we desire to say to you that we are powerless at the present moment to have them counted in favor of our nominee.

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention, I have said about all that I desire to say in the time which was allotted to me. I have endeavored to present the reasons why I advance the claims of John Sherman, of Ohio. I have endeavored to state to the Convention, as briefly as I could, my observation concerning the condition of political affairs in the section of country from which I come. I do not come here to paint with roseate hues the condition of affairs in the Southern States. I do not come here in the spirit of dictation, to force upon this Convention any candidate against the deliberate judgment of those who have the electoral vote to give. I come here rather in the form of a petitioner, asking that, whatever may be done in this Convention, it will not nominate any candidate upon the belief, which, in my opinion, is erroneous, that he can be

elected by the aid of electoral votes obtained from the Southern States. Having said this much, gentlemen, and thanking you for the courtesy which you have extended me, I now give way.

#### NOMINATION OF GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

#### On the call of the State of Vermont.

Mr. BILLINGS, of Vermont. *Mr. President:* The State earliest born into the Union after the old Thirteen, whose people have always been loyal to liberty, enthusiastically urges the name of her most distinguished son as the fittest name to be inscribed on the Presidential banner. Her delegates bring that message here with joy and pride alike supreme because they know no State has a better right to name a Republican candidate, and that no State can name a better man. For the first time in her history, Vermont, although always in the advance guard of the Republican hosts, thus comes to the front in a National convention. She thus comes, not seeking reward for loyalty which has never faltered in the years gone by, not asking a price for loyalty never to falter in the years to come. Her Republicanism is not born of selfishness. It is bred in her bone, and it runs in her blood. Nor does she thus come because the man she names for the Presidency sprung from her loins. He is no longer hers. He is the possession and the pride of the Nation. Still more: Vermont would call on her everlasting mountains to fall on and hide her before she would thrust any local pride or selfish ambition into the counsels of this critical epoch.

Vermont rises to the height of the occasion. She looks backward through the years. She looks forward through the years. She sees the infinite peril, the ignominy—aye, the crime—of turning over the administration of this Government to a revolutionary Democracy. She longs for victory—the victory of patriotism at the polls, and the victory of statesmanship after the polls. She implores the Convention to let no unnecessary issues, no discords born of hot rivalries, no personal ambition, no dissensions, no anything, put this victory in peril. She prays you to make this victory secure by going straight to the conscience and intelligence of the people, not only by a platform ringing with honor and honesty, from money clear up through everything to human rights, but by putting thereon a candidate far better than the platform, because known everywhere through the length and the breadth of the land as its very incarnation, long tried and never found wanting. A candidate weak nowhere, strong everywhere, who will consolidate the party, bring every Independent into line, and win recruits from the enemy. That is victory here and now, victory for years to come. Any other course forebodes disaster and courts defeat now and for years to come. Such a candidate, healing all dissensions, of wondrous ability, of aggressive integrity, of the largest experience in public affairs, of the highest statesmanship, is that brave, clean, vigilant man, upon whom rests no shadow of reproach, to whom in every crisis in the councils of the Nation we turn with joy and confidence—the central figure and leader of the Senate, the foremost type and defender of all that is best in the Republican faith, the ideal candidate, seeking not the office, worthy of the best days of the Republic, having the promise and potency of victory, is George F. Edmunds; and him Vermont nominates for the Presidency.

Welcome, gentlemen of the Convention, this breeze from the Green Mountains. How quickly it will swell into a gale, and how surely sweep the land.

Mr. SANFORD, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President:* In behalf of the Republicans of Massachusetts, and by the express sanction of her delegation, to which I have the honor to belong, I desire to second the nomination which has just been made by the gentleman from Vermont. I shall not repeat the tribute which he has so justly and eloquently paid to the gallant Republican State for which he has spoken, and to the ability, the statesmanship, the character and the services of her distinguished son. The record of the State, and of the statesman, alike conspicuous and untarnished, needs no encomium here. By all Republicans, at least, it is already known, and no word can be spoken here to add to its lustre or diminish its fame. The Republicans of Massachusetts, trained like their brethren of Vermont by long and unflinching devotion to the principles and fortunes of the Republican party, have learned to regard the success of that party as far more important than the success of any candidate within the party. They have also learned to believe that, if there is wisdom in the maxim that the most available nominations are the best, there is also truth in the converse of that maxim, that the best nominations are the most available. Deeply sensible of the importance of the impending election to the prosperity, the honor and safety of the Nation, the Republicans of Massachusetts, unembarrassed by any candidate of their own, have selected from the list of eminent names presented to their choice a leader who should bear the standard of the party triumphantly through the contest that lies before us; with that enthusiasm wholly spontaneous, and a large degree of unanimity, they have given their preferences unsolicited, but earnestly, to the Senator whose name, and the fame of whose manhood is identified with that Green Mountain State among whose majestic hills he was born and reared. I shall enter, sir, upon no comparisons. I shall not disparage the claims or merits of any candidate to whom any State or delegate in this Convention has given preference. It is enough to say, and I desire to say it with all courtesy, that we of the State of Massachusetts have found no other man who has seemed to us to possess in a larger degree the requisite qualifications for the high office of President, or who has seemed to us more likely to combine the hosts of the Republican party in the emergency before us.

I will not delay you, gentlemen. You are weary and impatient, and I close by saying that the Republicans of Massachusetts join with their brethren of his own State in respectfully presenting to this Convention and commending to its support George F. Edmunds, of Vermont.

#### NOMINATION OF ELIHU B. WASHBURN.

On the call of the State of Wisconsin.

Mr. CASSODY, of Wisconsin. *Mr. President:* During the exciting and arduous duties of this Convention I have not occupied to exceed three minutes of your time, notwithstanding I was the chairman of a delegation. I promise now, if you respectfully listen to me for a few moments, not to use up the time of ten minutes allotted to me, by two or three minutes.

It is indeed fortunate for our party and civilization that we have so many able statesmen from whom to select our candidates. Far be it from me to detract a single syllable from the praise justly due to



any; but we live in a vast country, embracing many eminent statesmen whose names have not been presented to this Convention. Here are 756 delegates, representing 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 Republican voters, embracing many nationalities, having diverse interests and theories, that are scattered over 3,000,000 square miles of territory. And any view of our duty is incomplete and altogether too narrow which fails to take in the whole field and all the probabilities and improbabilities of a united support in November.

It may be that in France and some other nations success in government depends wholly upon the character of the leadership; but in this representative Government it must ever depend largely upon the broad common sense and good judgment of the masses of the people. And hence the truism uttered by our martyred President, that no one life is necessary to the existence of a nation. Behold in these seats, in this very presence, men whose ability and statesmanship have become famous on this and other continents. There is no lack of capacity for leadership, much less of a disposition to lead.

What we want most just now, is unity of purpose through the entire party, for the public good, and that can best be secured, not by self-assertion, but by self-negation.

The question is not whose name will elicit the greatest applause at this present moment of time, but whose name is so established in the confidence of the people as to allay all opposition in his own party and secure the greatest number of votes in November. The man of my choice is not a candidate, and has not sought any support from any quarter. He has rather repelled it. But let us remember that in the tabernacle of God those are not chosen who seek the highest seats and demand the richest crowns, but rather those who empty themselves of all vanity and conceit, and go down into the arena, into the face of death, and there are content to labor for the common good.

Such ought to be the rule in every Republican convention. Let us not be too sanguine. A comfortable berth is of no account to the passenger when the ship is fast driving upon the rocks. Let us save the ship and take care of the berths afterwards. Our enemies are in possession of both Houses of Congress. They will demand and claim the right to dictate the methods and the tests of the electoral count. With that object in view, they have purposely omitted, as the distinguished Senator from New York the other day very emphatically told them, all constitutional and statutory guarantees. With an inordinate lust for executive power and patronage on their part, we have nothing to gain, nothing to expect from a decision of theirs in case of a repetition of "184 to 185," nor from an Electoral Commission of their choosing. The only security is to make certain at the polls in the choice of a candidate, around whom the entire party can solidly join and march to victory. That man ascertained with reasonable certainty, it becomes the bounden duty of all to secure the success of the party, and through that party the salvation of our country, by making that man the nominee of this Convention. No other man has the right to insist upon it, and that man has no right to decline it. In the judgment of some in this Convention, and many with cool heads all over the land, there are two men who possess all these requisite qualities. One is Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, and the other is George F. Edmunds, of Vermont. Fully realizing that a divided party at the close of this Convention forebodes defeat in November, and a united party at the close of this Convention insures success in November, and looking over the

whole field, I take that man whose history is familiar to you; who at the breaking out of the War sought out an obscure individual in Galena, led him to Springfield, up to the mountain of his glory, and stands by his side, one of his chief admirers and friends to-day. And, therefore, I nominate Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois.

Mr. BRANDIGEE, of Connecticut. *Mr. President:* The State of Connecticut, one of the oldest of the old Thirteen, sends greeting across the lakes, and over the prairies to Wisconsin, one of the youngest of the sisters, and unites with her in presenting to this grand Republican Council the name of that wise, sagacious, honored, faithful, stalwart Republican statesman—the only name that is sure to carry every doubtful State and poll every Republican vote—Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois. We come here, sir, from the State of Connecticut, presenting no candidate of our own, not that there are not within her borders very many eminent civil statesmen within the reach of the Presidential possibility of being struck by lightning. But, sir, there are within that State two military living heroes, one not trained at West Point, but who, with the force of native genius, inspired with a blazing patriotism, went to the war as a private, and graduated from the war as the hero of Fort Fisher—Gen. Alfred H. Terry, of Connecticut. We have also within that State another gallant soldier, statesman and orator—gallant Joe Hawley, of Connecticut, who, in the convention that nominated Grant, sitting in the Chair, and holding the gavel which you now hold, Mr. President, enunciated and crystallized, when the great financial heresy of soft-money repudiation arose, the true heart and thought of Republicanism in one living sentence, when he said that every dollar of the national debt should be as sacred as a soldier's grave.

We present no candidate here of our own. We come here uninstructed, uncommitted, and until we had come here and heard the debate, entirely undecided. We came here to consult with you in this momentous crisis of the history of our party, and, as we believe, in the history of our country. Sir, unless this Convention shall act wisely, and name him who not only can be nominated, but also elected at the polls, we believe that nothing that has been garnered up from the storm of battle is safe beyond all possibility of destruction. We believe, sir, that unless the Republican party can elect its candidate, and inaugurate him in this Presidential election, 500,000 soldiers will have gone to their graves in vain.

Mr. President, sixteen years ago I sat by the side of the statesman of Illinois in the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congress. I have never seen him since. I have never written him since. I have never heard from him since, and therefore I am not the engineer of any "bureau" of Washburne. But, sir, I then saw that he was the terror of the lobby. I saw then that he was the friend of the soldier. I saw then that that great and sainted man, whose portrait is at the other end of this hall [Lincoln], and whose spirit, I believe, looks down upon the deliberations of this assembly, trusted to no other statesman as he did to the advice, the wisdom and the counsel of Washburne. But I know full well, sir, too, that at that dark hour in the day of the Republic, when everything was at stake, when men's hearts failed them for fear, when 600,000 soldiers were on the other side of the Potomac, face to face, I know that then it was through the persistent, indomitable pertinacity of Elihu B. Washburne that the great soldier was brought up from the Southwest and put in command of the Potomac army. And I know, too, sir, by a gentleman whom I have met to-night for the first time since

that, with unwearied pertinacity against a reluctant Congress, in season and out of season, he demanded of that Congress that it should pass a bill creating Ulysses S. Grant Lieutenant-General of all the armies of the Republic, thus commissioning by Congress what the Almighty had already commissioned—the great hammer of the Almighty to break the backbone of the Rebellion.

That friend of Grant, that friend of economy, that friend and exponent of Republican principles, is the man I mean. Now, Mr. President, there are to-day, in the City of New York alone, 150,000 Germans. There are the sons and daughters of Fatherland in every Northern Republican and doubtful State. There are in the State of Connecticut enough to make the difference between a Democratic and Republican majority in November.

Connecticut is a doubtful State—as doubtful as Indiana. We must carry that State, for two reasons. You want it in the Republican line; and do you not want a Republican Senator, too, in the place of William W. Eaton, who misrepresents New England in the United States Senate?

We elect the Legislature in November that elects a Senator in the place of Eaton. Do you want one new Republican Senator in the United States, or do you not care to have a majority of Republican Senators there? Give us Washburne, and I pledge my life, I pledge everything, that the State of Connecticut in November will go Republican. I know it. And I do believe, too, that he will carry the State of Indiana with such a sweep as no man has ever carried it in modern times. New York is the third German city of the world to-day. There are more Germans there than in any other city in the world, except two. Washburne's name—if there is a German on this continent that does not respond to that, he is unworthy of the traditions of the Fatherland. He collected 80,000 Germans within the black and scarred walls of Paris, with the Commune howling like tigers to lap their blood, and beneath the flag of his country every one of them was safe. There is not a German woman or a prattling child that will not take up his name, and we shall carry four-fifths of the whole German vote of the United States. The gentleman from New York shakes his head. He shakes his head magnificently. No man can shake it like him, nor shake such rhetoric and wisdom out of it. But let me tell the gentleman from New York he cannot sit down at the ear of every voter and give the argument that he has given to-night against the traditions of our fathers. He may, by the magic of his eloquence, take this Convention and the galleries off their feet, in his fervor; but even his great abilities, even his unmatched eloquence cannot go down to the fireside of every voter and persuade them that all the traditions of the fathers with reference to a third term are but humbug and masquerade. Does he not know that his candidate would be on the defensive, that even the magic name of Grant can hardly carry him in this Convention. Does he not know—no one knows so well as he—that the name of Grant would carry this Convention through by storm if there were not an invincible argument against his nomination? Mr. President, one word, and only one. If you want a son of Maine, Washburne was born there. If you want a son of Illinois, he lives there, and the people here want him. Give him to us and he will carry Illinois. With his name—I believe in my soul of souls with his name alone—we are sure to march on to victory.

Mr. MORSE, of Massachusetts. It is now nearly midnight.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts. For what purpose does the gentleman arise?

Mr. MORSE. [The hour being 11:45, p. m.] I rise to make a motion to adjourn.

The PRESIDENT. To what hour does the gentleman move?

Mr. MORSE. I have no desire to prevent other speeches, but I wish to make a motion that the Convention adjourn upon the conclusion of the speeches in nomination of candidates.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is informed that the gentleman who had proposed further to second the last nomination does not desire to be heard—that no other speeches are to be made.

Mr. MORSE. Then, Mr. President, I make the motion that this Convention do now adjourn until Monday morning at ten o'clock.

So the Convention, at eleven o'clock and forty-six minutes, p. m., adjourned to Monday morning next at ten o'clock.

#### FIFTH DAY—MONDAY, June 7, 1880—10 A. M.

The PRESIDENT. The Convention will come to order. The Rev. Mr. Everest, of Chicago, will offer prayer.

Rev. Charles Hall Everest, of Chicago, offered the following

#### PRAYER:

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, Thou dwellest calmly above all the excitements and conflicting interests of the earth. Not because Thou art indifferent to the welfare of men, or the destinies of nations, but because Thou knowest the end from the beginning, and all results are according to Thy designs. We address ourselves to thee with confidence, because Thou hast so often manifested Thy saving interest in this great people. And we beseech Thee that the holy faith that inspired our fathers to their heroic endeavors, and bore them successfully through the arduous task of laying the foundations of this Republic, may be vouchsafed unto us, their children, that we may safely guard and keep these great interests and privileges committed to our trust.

We thus ask that Thou wilt preside unseen, and yet potential, over all the deliberations of this great assemblage to-day, that every result may be for Thy glory, may be for the perpetuation of peace and of prosperity to this great Nation of Thy love. We ask this divine favor in the name of Him who is the very Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Secretary announced that all railroads and packet lines had extended their excursion tickets to a period twenty-four hours after adjournment of the Convention.

## CORRECTING A MISAPPREHENSION.

The **PRESIDENT**. The Chair has been requested by several delegates to direct the reading of two of the resolutions contained in the platform adopted on Saturday, which have been misapprehended by the public. The Chair directs the resolutions to be read.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

"5. We reaffirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity—polygamy—must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; that we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our water-courses and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory. To do them honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

"6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of Chinese as a matter of grave concernment, invoke the exercise of those powers to limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result."

## BALLOTING FOR PRESIDENT.

Mr. **HALE**, of Maine. I move, Mr. President, that the Convention now proceed, under the rules, to ballot for a candidate for President.

Mr. **CONKLING**, of New York. I wish to inquire whether, under the rule, it is not, without motion, a matter of course that we now proceed to ballot for candidate for President.

The **PRESIDENT**. The Chair does not so understand. The rules provide for proceeding when the Convention shall ballot, but do not fix the time or order.

Mr. **CONKLING**. Then, Mr. President, I second the motion that we now proceed to ballot.

The **PRESIDENT**. Before putting this question the Chair desires to be heard for one moment. The Convention now proposes to proceed to a most important act, in the selection of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic. In scarcely any other country on earth could such an act take place without strife and blood. Nothing will so tend to elevate the American people in the respect of mankind, to attract mankind to our borders, as the spectacle of such a proceeding conducted with peace, with dignity, with decorum, with quiet. The Chair, therefore, trusts that every gentleman present, whether member of the Convention or here as a witness of its proceedings, will feel that his country is affected by the propriety and order of his own conduct.

The gentleman from Maine moves that the Convention now proceed, under the rules, to ballot for a candidate for President.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair directs the Clerk to read, for the information of the Convention, that portion of the rules which relates to the manner of proceeding.

The Secretary read as follows :

"Rule 8. In the record of the vote by States, the vote of each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman, and in case the votes of any State, Territory or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition; but if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the chairman of his delegation, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given."

Mr. CROUNSE, of Nebraska. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. No business is in order but a call of the roll of States, under the rule.

Mr. CROUNSE. There is another rule—one in regard to changing a vote.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is correct. The Secretary will read the rule.

The Secretary read as follows :

"Rule 7. In making the nomination for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be, Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous? But if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the Chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast; and when any State has announced its vote it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error."

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will call the roll, and the chairmen of the respective States, as they are called, will announce the votes of their delegates.

#### FIRST BALLOT.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted :

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 304; James G. Blaine, 284; John Sherman, 93; George F. Edmunds, 84; Elihu B. Washburne, 80; William Windom, 10—as follows :

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	8			
Arkansas.....	12	12					
California.....	12		12				
Colorado.....	6	6					
Connecticut.....	12		8		2		1
Delaware.....	6		6				
Florida.....	8	8					
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8			
Illinois.....	42	24	10				8
Indiana.....	30	1	26	2			1
Iowa.....	22		22				
Kansas.....	10	4	6				
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	8			
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6			
Maine.....	14		14				
Maryland.....	16	7	7	2			
Massachusetts.....	26	8		2	20		1
Michigan.....	22	1	21				
Minnesota.....	10					10	
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6			
Missouri.....	30	29					1
Nebraska.....	6		6				
Nevada.....	6		6				
New Hampshire.....	10		10				
New Jersey.....	18		16				2
New York.....	70	51	17	2			
North Carolina.....	20	6		14			
Ohio.....	44		9	84	1		
Oregon.....	6		6				
Pennsylvania.....	58	32	28	8			
Rhode Island.....	8		8				
South Carolina.....	14	18		1			
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1		
Texas.....	16	11	2	2			1
Vermont.....	10				10		
Virginia.....	22	18	8	1			
West Virginia.....	10	1	8				
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	8			9
Arizona.....	2		2				
Dakota.....	2	1	1				
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1				
Idaho.....	2		2				
Montana.....	2		2				
New Mexico.....	2		2				
Utah.....	2	1	1				
Washington.....	2		2				
Wyoming.....	2	1	1				
Totals.....	756	804	284	98	84	10	80

During the ballot:

On the call of the State of New York.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. *Mr. President:* The better way in the case of New York is to call the roll of individual delegates, for a reason which I will state if need be, within the spirit of the rule; but if there be no objection, the roll of individuals may be called.

The PRESIDENT. No objection is made. Under the rule, the vote of the State must be announced by the chairman, unless some question be raised by a delegate as to the correctness of the announcement, in which case the roll of the State must be called. The Chair will treat the failure of the chairman of the delegation to announce the vote of his State on the call as a question within the meaning of the rule.

Mr. CONKLING. If the Chair will allow me, I will state frankly that the chairman of the delegation is instructed how to cast the vote, but it is understood that there are members of the delegation who prefer to vote each for himself; therefore the chairman prefers to withhold the announcement and allow the roll of names to be called.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair, no objection being made, will treat such refusal to announce the vote by the chairman of the delegation under the rule as requiring the roll of the State to be called. The roll will be called.

A DELEGATE from New York. There are two delegates absent from this delegation, and two alternates present. Is it necessary to substitute them now?

The PRESIDENT. When the name of a delegate shall be called, if he does not respond, the name of his alternate will be called.

The roll of the delegation from the State of New York was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

Roscoe Conkling.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Alonzo B. Cornell (by Jacob Hoysradt, his alternate), Ulysses S. Grant  
Chester A. Arthur.....Ulysses S. Grant  
James D. Warren.....Ulysses S. Grant

DISTRICTS.

First District.....John Birdsall.....James G. Blaine  
" ".....Simeon S. Hawkins.....James G. Blaine  
Second District.....James Jourdan.....Ulysses S. Grant  
" ".....Amos F. Learned.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Third District.....Frederick A. Schroeder.....Ulysses S. Grant  
" ".....Albert Daggett.....John Sherman  
Fourth District.....Jacob Worth.....Ulysses S. Grant  
" ".....Benjamin F. Tracy.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Fifth District.....Edwards Pierpont.....Ulysses S. Grant  
" ".....Pierre C. Van Wyck.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Sixth District.....Charles E. Cornell.....Ulysses S. Grant  
" ".....De Witt C. Wheeler.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Seventh District.....Jacob M. Patterson, Jr.....Ulysses S. Grant  
" ".....John J. O'Brien.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Eighth District.....John D. Lawson.....Ulysses S. Grant  
" ".....Charles Blackie.....Ulysses S. Grant



Ninth District.....	James R. Davis.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	Stephen B. French.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Tenth District.....	Levi P. Morton.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	Bernard Biglin.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eleventh District.....	Thomas Murphy.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	Jacob Hess.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twelfth District.....	William H. Robertson.....	James G. Blaine
" " .....	James W. Husted.....	James G. Blaine
Thirteenth District.....	Louis F. Payn.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	John B. Dutcher.....	James G. Blaine
Fourteenth District.....	Moses D. Stivers.....	James G. Blaine
" " .....	Blake G. Wales.....	James G. Blaine
Fifteenth District.....	George H. Sharpe.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	Rufus H. King.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixteenth District.....	Henry R. Pierson.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	Charles P. Easton.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventeenth District.....	John M. Francis.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	Isaac V. Baker, Jr.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighteenth District.....	William W. Rockwell.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	Oliver Abell, Jr.....	James G. Blaine
Nineteenth District.....	Wells S. Dickinson.....	John Sherman
" " .....	Henry R. James.....	James G. Blaine
Twentieth District.....	Webster Wagner.....	James G. Blaine
" " .....	George West.....	James G. Blaine
Twenty-first District.....	Ferris Jacobs, Jr.....	James G. Blaine
" " .....	David Wilber.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-second District.....	John P. Douglass.....	James G. Blaine
" " .....	{ Sidney Sylvester (by Clinton L. Merriam, his alternate.) }	James G. Blaine
Twenty-third District.....	Edward H. Shelley.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	William H. Comstock.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-fourth District.....	George M. Case.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	Charles L. Kennedy.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-fifth District.....	Dennis McCarthy.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	James J. Belden.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-sixth District.....	{ William B. Woodin (by Leander Fitts, his alternate.) }	James G. Blaine
" " .....	John B. Murray.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-seventh District.....	Francis O. Mason.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	George N. Hicks.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-eighth District.....	Thomas C. Platt.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	O. W. Chapman.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-ninth District.....	Chester S. Cole.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	Charles J. Langdon.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirtieth District.....	Edward A. Frost.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	Henry A. Bruner.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-first District.....	George G. Hoskins.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	John E. Pound.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-second District.....	Ray V. Pierce.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	John Nice.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-third District.....	Norman M. Allen.....	James G. Blaine
" " .....	Loren B. Sessions.....	James G. Blaine

The vote of the State of New York was then announced as above recorded.

On the call of the State of West Virginia.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. Before announcing the vote of West Virginia, I desire to make a statement. Until the adverse action—

The PRESIDENT. It is not in order.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am explaining the vote I am about to cast. I suppose this is a question of privilege, inasmuch as it affects the vote of this delegation.

The PRESIDENT. No question of privilege can be raised or entertained except by unanimous consent.

Mr. CONKLING. Let us have the regular order.

The PRESIDENT. The regular order is called for. The Chairman will announce the vote of his State.

Mr. CAMPBELL. In that case I will cast the vote—eight votes for James G. Blaine; one for Ulysses S. Grant.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. With respect to the vote just cast.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order. The rule permits any delegate from a State to challenge the correctness of the announcement by the Chairman.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Then I rise to a question of privilege.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state his question of privilege.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. That the gentleman who rose in his place on the right [Mr. Campbell, of West Virginia] desired to present to this Convention a proxy, as was presented from another State a moment ago, authorizing a vote, as I understand, to be cast in a certain way, and to submit that to the Convention. I think that is a question of the highest privilege that can come before this Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair overrules the question of privilege. The Chair will state that, under the rule, nothing is in order but the announcement of the vote by the chairman of the delegation, or a question, afterward, of the correctness of that announcement by any delegate to the Convention. If, at the close of the roll-call, any member rises to a question of order in regard to the correctness of the final announcement by the Chair, at that time the question of order will be entertained, and may be settled by the Convention.

Mr. CAMPBELL. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I simply rise to make this explanation—

The PRESIDENT. The explanation is out of order. Does the gentleman rise to question the correctness of the announcement which has been made?

Mr. CAMPBELL. A member here understood the gentleman from New York to make an explanation in regard to the vote of that State, and I want to make a similar one in regard to the vote of this State.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order. The Clerk will proceed with the call of the roll.

The call then proceeded in order to the close, when the result of the ballot was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. I rise now to inquire whether it is in order to make an explanation.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state, for the information of the Convention, the rule, as he understands it. When the Convention is executing its order, nothing but the steps prescribed by rule is in order. The rule provides that the chairman of the delegation shall announce the vote of his State. If any delegate, whether from the State or otherwise, shall challenge the correctness of that announcement, the roll of the States will be called.

If any question arises as to the right of any person to answer to that call, the Chair will rule upon it in the first instance, and will direct the Secretary to proceed with the roll-call, and announce the result according to his ruling. When the Chair announces the result, if any member of the Convention questions the correctness of that announcement he may rise to the question, and it may be settled by the Convention. The call will proceed.

#### SECOND BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted :

Total number of votes cast, 756. [Necessary to a choice, 379.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 282; John Sherman, 94; George F. Edmunds, 32; Elihu B. Washburne, 31; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, of Ohio, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	8	.....	1	.....	8	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	25	2	.....	.....	1	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	7	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Michigan .....	22	1	21					
Minnesota.....	10					10		
Mississippi.....	16	7	4	5				
Missouri.....	80	29					1	
Nebraska.....	6		6					
Nevada.....	6		6					
New Hampshire.....	10		10					
New Jersey.....	18		16				2	
New York.....	70	51	17	2				
North Carolina.....	20	5		15				
Ohio.....	44		9	34	1			
Oregon.....	6		6					
Pennsylvania.....	58	38	22	2				1
Rhode Island.....	8		8					
South Carolina.....	14	18		1				
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1			
Texas.....	16	11	2	2			1	
Vermont.....	10				10			
Virginia.....	22	16	3	3				
West Virginia.....	10	1	8					
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3			9	
Arizona.....	2		2					
Dakota.....	2	1	1					
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1					
Idaho.....	2		2					
Montana.....	2		2					
New Mexico.....	2		2					
Utah.....	2	1	1					
Washington.....	2		2					
Wyoming.....	2	2						
Totals .....	756	305	282	94	32	10	31	1

During the ballot:

On the call of the State of Florida.

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. Eight votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

Mr. DEAN, of Florida. *Mr. President:* I am in favor of James G. Blaine for President, and I rise for the purpose of correcting the vote of Florida. I wish to have my vote recorded for James G. Blaine.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman rise to question the correctness of the announcement by the chairman?

Mr. DEAN I do, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The roll of the State will be called. Each member will answer when his name is called.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Florida was then called; the delegates as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

W. W. Hicks.....Ulysses S. Grant  
V. J. Shipman.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Sherman Conant.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Joseph E. Lee——

—Mr. LEE. I vote, according to the instructions of my people.  
for——

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order. He will vote.

Mr. LEE. I vote for Ulysses S. Grant.

The SECRETARY. [Calling.] "Reuben S. Smith?" [No response heard.]

The PRESIDENT. Call the alternate.

The SECRETARY. "William Potter?" [No response.]

The PRESIDENT. Proceed with the call.

The roll-call was continued, and responded to as follows:

F. C. Humphrey.....Ulysses S. Grant  
E. J. Alexander.....Ulysses S. Grant  
James Dean.....James G. Blaine

The SECRETARY. The State of Florida casts six votes for Ulysses S. Grant, and one for James G. Blaine.

Mr. HICKS. There were seven votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

The SECRETARY. Reuben S. Smith did not answer.

Mr. HICKS. Yes, he did answer.

The PRESIDENT. The name will be called again. No response to the name of Mr. Smith was heard at the platform.

Mr. HICKS. Every member answered in his place.

The SECRETARY. "Reuben S. Smith?"

Mr. Smith.....Ulysses S. Grant

The vote of the State of Florida was then announced—seven votes for Ulysses S. Grant, and one vote for James G. Blaine, as above recorded.

On the call of the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. BEAVER, of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania casts thirty-three votes for Ulysses S. Grant; twenty-two for James G. Blaine; two for John Sherman, and one vote for James A. Garfield, of Ohio.

On the announcement of the State of West Virginia.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM, of West Virginia. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman address the Chair?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I wish to make an explanation in regard to West Virginia.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman question the announcement of the vote made by the Chairman?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I do, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The roll of the State of West Virginia will be called.

The roll of the delegation from the State of West Virginia was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

A. W. Campbell.....	James G. Blaine
W. J. Burley.....	James G. Blaine
S. B. McCormick.....	James G. Blaine
John H. Riley.....	James G. Blaine

DISTRICTS.

First District.....	C. D. Hubbard.....	James G. Blaine
“ “ .....	A. C. Moore.....	James G. Blaine
Second District.....	J. T. Hoke.....	James G. Blaine
“ “ .....	J. M. Hagans.....	James G. Blaine
Third District { .....	J. W. Davis.....	John Sherman alternate from West Virginia.)
(Response by Mr. Cunningham, an		

Mr. HAGANS, of West Virginia. That is not Mr. Davis. That is another gentleman.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Is the gentleman who addresses the Chair the person whose name has been called?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I am an alternate.

The PRESIDENT. Is the gentleman who addresses the Chair the person whose name has been called?

Mr. HAGANS. No, sir; he is not.

The PRESIDENT. I ask of the gentleman himself.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I am an alternate.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman's response will not be accepted. After the roll of the delegates has been called, the name of the alternate of Mr. Davis will be called. Proceed with the call of the roll.

The SECRETARY. [Calling.] "John H. Rossler."

Mr. ROSSLER. Ulysses S. Grant.

The SECRETARY. The alternate of J. W. Davis is Amos Dye. [Calling.] "Amos Dye."

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. The gentleman is not here.

The PRESIDENT. Then the vote will not be recorded.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I rise touching a matter which I understand the Chair to announce might be called up at the close of the roll-call.

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will announce the result of the call. When it is announced, any gentleman may rise to a question of order, or of privilege, which is the highest order, and insist that for any reason known to him the announcement is not correct.

The vote of the State of West Virginia was then announced: For James G. Blaine, eight; for Ulysses S. Grant, one; as above recorded.

The result of the second ballot was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* In calling the roll, the correctness of the announcement of the vote of West Virginia being questioned by a delegate, the Chair directed the roll of that

State to be called. The name of one of the delegates borne on the roll being called, that delegate did not answer to his name. Thereupon the name of his alternate borne on the roll was called, and the alternate did not answer to his name. The Chair rules that no other person, except that delegate or the alternate, can lawfully answer to either of those names in the Convention.

Several DELEGATES. That is right.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I desire, if the Chair will indulge me for a single moment, to call his attention and the attention of the Convention to the precise facts in this case.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Ohio take an appeal from the decision of the Chair?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I do not, Mr. Chairman; but I desire—

The PRESIDENT. Nothing else is in order. No person having a majority of the votes cast, the Convention will proceed to another ballot. The Clerk will call the roll.

### THIRD BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted :

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 282; John Sherman, 93; George F. Edmunds, 32, Elihu B. Washburne, 31; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1; Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, 1—as follows :

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Harrison.
Alabama.....	20	17	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	1	.....	8	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	25	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	7	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Harrison.
Minnesota.....	10					10			
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6					
Missouri.....	30	29					1		
Nebraska.....	6		6						
Nevada.....	6		6						
New Hampshire.....	10		10						
New Jersey.....	18		16				2		
New York.....	70	51	17	2					
North Carolina.....	20	5		15					
Ohio.....	44		9	34	1				
Oregon.....	6		6						
Pennsylvania.....	58	33	23					1	1
Rhode Island.....	8		8						
South Carolina.....	14	13		1					
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1				
Texas.....	16	12	1	2			1		
Vermont.....	10				10				
Virginia.....	22	16	3	3					
West Virginia.....	10	1	8						
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3			9		
Arizona.....	2		2						
Dakota.....	2	1	1						
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1						
Idaho.....	2		2						
Montana.....	2		2						
New Mexico.....	2		2						
Utah.....	2	1	1						
Washington.....	2		2						
Wyoming.....	2	1	1						
Totals.....	756	305	282	98	32	10	31	1	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

FOURTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 281; John Sherman, 95; George F. Edmunds, 32; Elihu B. Washburne, 31; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1—as follows:



STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	17	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	1	.....	8	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	25	2	.....	.....	1	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	6	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
New York.....	70	51	17	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	5	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	33	23	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	13	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	8	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	305	281	95	32	10	31	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

FIFTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 281; John Sherman, 95; George F. Edmunds, 32; Elihu B. Washburne, 31; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	17	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	1	.....	8	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	25	2	.....	.....	1	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	6	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
New York.....	70	51	17	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	5	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	84	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	33	28	1	.....	.....	.....	1

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	18	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	305	281	95	32	10	31	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### SIXTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 280; John Sherman, 95; George F. Edmunds, 32; Elihu B. Washburne, 31; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	16	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	1
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	8	.....	1	.....	8	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	25	2	.....	.....	1	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	8	5	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	28	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
New York.....	70	51	17	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	5	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	88	23	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	18	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	10	6	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	895	280	95	82	10	31	2

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## SEVENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted :

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 281; John Sherman, 94; George F. Edmunds, 32; Elihu B. Washburne, 31; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	16	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	1
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	1	.....	8	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	25	8	.....	.....	1	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	8	5	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
New York.....	70	51	17	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	6	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	84	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	38	28	1	.....	.....	.....	1

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	8	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	306	281	94	32	10	31	2

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. HARRISON, of Indiana. [The hour being 1, p. m.] I move that the Convention take a recess until three o'clock.

The motion was not agreed to.

#### EIGHTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted :

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 306; James G. Blaine, 284; John Sherman, 91; George F. Edmunds, 31, Elihu B. Washburne, 32; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1—as follows :

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	17	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	6	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	27	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	8	6	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
New York.....	70	51	17	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	5	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	84	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	84	22	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	4	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	8	.....	.....	9	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	758	806	284	91	81	10	32	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

NINTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 308; James G. Blaine, 282; John Sherman, 90; George F. Edmunds, 81; Elihu B. Washburne, 32; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	17	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	9	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana.....	80	2	27	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	8	5	2	.....	.....	.....	1
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	7	4	5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	80	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
New York.....	70	51	17	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	6	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	22	1	.....	.....	.....	1



STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	308	282	90	31	10	32	2

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### TENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted :

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 282; John Sherman, 92; Elihu B. Washburne, 32; George F. Edmunds, 31; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2; Rutherford B. Hayes, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Hayes.
Alabama.....	20	17	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	27	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	8	5	2	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
New York.....	70	51	17	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	4	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	22	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	3	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	766	805	282	92	81	10	82	2	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## ELEVENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 281; John Sherman, 93; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 32; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2; Rutherford B. Hayes, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Hayes.
Alabama.....	20	17	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	27	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	8	5	2	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
New York.....	70	51	17	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	5	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	22	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Hayes.
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	15	2	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	305	281	93	31	10	32	2	1

At the Conclusion of the roll-call, and before the announcement of the result:

Mr. WOLTZ, of Virginia. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. WOLTZ. I rise to make a change of the vote.

The PRESIDENT. That is not in order under the rule.

Mr. WOLTZ. There is an error in the vote of one of the delegates, and I desire to correct it.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman state that the report of the vote is not as the delegate actually voted?

Mr. WOLTZ. I do, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The State of Virginia will be again called.

The State of Virginia was again called.

Mr. WOLTZ. Sixteen for Ulysses S. Grant; two for James G. Blaine; four for John Sherman; and one for Rutherford B. Hayes.

The SECRETARY. That is one too many.

Mr. CONKLING. How many votes altogether does that make from Virginia?

The PRESIDENT. Virginia will be called again. There is evidently an error in the response of the chairman of the delegation.

The State of Virginia was again called.

Mr. WOLTZ. Fifteen for Ulysses S. Grant; two for James G. Blaine; one for Rutherford B. Hayes. [After a pause.] Mr. President, the call of the roll has been demanded by the delegation.

The PRESIDENT. The announcement of the vote by the chairman being questioned, the roll of delegates from that State will be called. It is understood that, under the rules, no delegate, upon this call, is entitled to vote otherwise than he has previously voted, so as to operate as a change of the vote.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Virginia was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

Peter J. Carter.....	John Sherman
J. W. Poindexter.....	Ulysses S. Grant
D. Sheffey Lewis.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Joseph Jorgenson.....	Ulysses S. Grant
John W. Woltz.....	Ulysses S. Grant
L. R. Stewart.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Geo. E. Bowden.....	John Sherman
Robert Norton.....	John Sherman
O. H. Russell.....	Rutherford B. Hayes
Josiah Crump.....	Ulysses S. Grant
W. L. Fernald (by his alternate, M. R. DeMortie).....	John Sherman
James D. Brady.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Wm. H. Pleasants.....	Ulysses S. Grant
H. Clay Harris.....	Ulysses S. Grant
J. F. Wilson.....	James G. Blaine
W. R. Watkins.....	Ulysses S. Grant
F. F. Ware.....	Ulysses S. Grant
John Donovan.....	Ulysses S. Grant
L. L. Lewis.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Wm. Brown.....	James G. Blaine
W. O. Austin.....	Ulysses S. Grant
C. C. Tompkins.....	Ulysses S. Grant

The vote of the State of Virginia was then announced: fifteen for Ulysses S. Grant; two for James G. Blaine; four for John Sherman; one for Rutherford B. Hayes, as above recorded.

The result of the eleventh ballot was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. No candidate having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be again taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. DRAKE, of Minnesota. [The hour being 2:10, p. m.] I move that the Convention now take a recess until five o'clock.

The motion was not agreed to.

## TWELFTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 304; James G. Blaine, 283; John Sherman, 92; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 33; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1; Rutherford B. Hayes, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Hayes.
Alabama.....	20	17	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	27	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	5	3	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	5	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
New York.....	70	51	17	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	5	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	22	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Hayes.
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	15	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	304	283	92	31	10	33	1	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### THIRTEENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 285; John Sherman, 89; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 33; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1; George W. McCrary, of Iowa, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	McCrary.
Alabama.....	20	17	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
Indiana.....	80	2	27	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	5	2	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	80	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
New York.....	70	51	17	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	6	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	22	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	2	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	15	5	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	8	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	805	285	89	81	10	88	1	1



The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## FOURTEENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 285; John Sherman, 89; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.
Alabama.....	20	17	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	9
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8
Indiana.....	30	2	27	.....	.....	.....	1
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	5	2	.....	.....	2
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2
New York.....	70	51	17	2	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	5	.....	15	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	22	1	.....	.....	1

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	13	1	1	.....	.....	1
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	15	5	2	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1*	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	305	285	89	31	10	35

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Convention that if at any time the condition of the ballot should seem to approach a stage where there is likely to be a majority, or nearly a majority, he will have the vote verified at the end of the roll-call. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### FIFTEENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted :

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 309; James G. Blaine, 281; John Sherman, 88; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 36; William Windom, 10—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.
Alabama.....	20	17	.....	8	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	9
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8
Indiana.....	30	2	26	.....	.....	.....	2
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	5	2	.....	.....	2
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2
New York.....	70	51	17	2	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	6	.....	14	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	22	1	.....	.....	1
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	18	1	1	.....	.....	1
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	18	2	2	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	309	281	88	81	10	86

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

SIXTEENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 754. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 306; James G. Blaine, 283; John Sherman, 88; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 36; William Windom, 10—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	8	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	9
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8
Indiana.....	30	2	26	.....	.....	.....	2
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	5	2	.....	.....	2
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2
New York.....	70	51	17	2	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	6	.....	14	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	22	1	.....	.....	1

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	2	1	.....	.....	1
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	17	8	2	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	8	.....	.....	9
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	806	283	88	31	10	36

At the conclusion of the roll-call, and before the announcement of the result:

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. I desire the State of Florida to be called again.

The vote of Florida was again announced—seven for Ulysses S. Grant.

Mr. HICKS. I desire to change that, so that it will stand one vote for James G. Blaine and seven votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

The PRESIDENT. Was the vote so cast when first called, or do you wish that it be now changed?

Mr. HICKS. It was not so announced on the first call. The Blaine man was out.

The PRESIDENT. The vote cannot now be changed.

The result of the sixteenth ballot was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. LEWIS, of Kentucky. [The hour being 8, p. m.] Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. LEWIS. I move that the Convention now take a recess until half-past five o'clock.

The motion was not agreed to.

## SEVENTEENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted :

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 303; James G. Blaine, 284; John Sherman, 90; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 36; William Windom, 10; Edmund J. Davis, of Texas, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	E. J. Davis.
Alabama .....	20	15	2	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas .....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California .....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado .....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut .....	12	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	9	.....
Delaware .....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida .....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia .....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois .....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana .....	30	2	26	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Iowa .....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas .....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky .....	24	20	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana .....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine .....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland .....	16	7	5	2	.....	.....	2	.....
Massachusetts .....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....
Michigan .....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota .....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Mississippi .....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri .....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska .....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada .....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire .....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey .....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
New York .....	70	50	18	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina .....	20	5	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio .....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon .....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania .....	58	34	22	1	.....	.....	1	.....

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	E. J. Davis.
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	1	1	.....	.....	1	1
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	17	2	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	8	.....	.....	9	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	808	284	90	81	10	36	1

During the ballot:

On the call of the State of Alabama.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* I ask that Alabama be passed for a moment.

The PRESIDENT. The State of Alabama will lose its vote on this ballot unless the chairman now responds. The rule is inexorable.

The result of the seventeenth ballot was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### • EIGHTEENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 805; James G. Blaine, 283; John Sherman, 91; George F. Edmunds, 81, Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.
Alabama.....	20	15	2	8	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	9
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8
Indiana.....	30	2	24	2	.....	.....	2
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	8	5	2	.....	.....	1
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2
New York.....	70	50	18	2	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	5	.....	15	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	22	1	.....	.....	1
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	18	1	1	.....	.....	1
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	17	8	2	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	305	288	91	31	10	35



During the ballot:

On the announcement of the vote of the State of New York.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. I question the correctness of the statement of the vote of New York.

The PRESIDENT. The roll of the State of New York will be called.

The roll of the delegation from the State of New York was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

#### DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

Roscoe Conkling.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Alonzo B. Cornell (by his alternate, Jacob Hoysradt),	Ulysses S. Grant
Chester A. Arthur.....	Ulysses S. Grant
James D. Warren.....	Ulysses S. Grant

#### DISTRICTS.

First District.....	John Birdsall.....	James G. Blaine
“ “ .....	Simeon S. Hawkins.....	James G. Blaine
Second District.....	James Jourdan.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Amos F. Learned.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Third District.....	Frederick A. Schroeder.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Albert Daggett.....	John Sherman
Fourth District.....	Jacob Worth.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Benjamin F. Tracy.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fifth District.....	Edwards Pierrepont.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Pierre C. Van Wyck .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixth District.....	Charles E. Cornell.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	De Witt C. Wheeler.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventh District.....	Jacob M. Patterson, Jr.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	John J. O'Brien.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighth District.....	John D. Lawson.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Charles Blackie.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Ninth District.....	James R. Davis.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Stephen B. French.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Tenth District.....	Levi P. Morton.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Bernard Biglin.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eleventh District.....	Thomas Murphy.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Jacob Hess.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twelfth District.....	William H. Robertson.....	James G. Blaine
“ “ .....	James W. Husted.....	James G. Blaine
Thirteenth District.....	Louis F. Payn .....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	John B. Dutcher.....	James G. Blaine
Fourteenth District.....	Moses D. Stivers.....	James G. Blaine
“ “ .....	Blake G. Wales.....	James G. Blaine
Fifteenth District.....	George H. Sharpe.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Rufus H. King.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixteenth District.....	Henry R. Pierson.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Charles P. Easton.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventeenth District.....	John M. Francis.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Isaac V. Baker, Jr.....	Ulysses S. Grant

Eighteenth District.....	William W. Rockwell.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Oliver Abell, Jr.....	James G. Blaine
Nineteenth District.....	Wells S. Dickinson.....	John Sherman
“ “ .....	Henry R. James.....	James G. Blaine
Twentieth District.....	Webster Wagner.....	James G. Blaine
“ “ .....	George West.....	James G. Blaine
Twenty-first District.....	Ferris Jacobs, Jr.....	James G. Blaine
“ “ .....	David Wilber.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-second District.....	John P. Douglass.....	James G. Blaine
“ “ .....	{ Sidney Sylvester (by his alternate, Clinton L. Merriam.) }	James G. Blaine
Twenty-third District.....	Edward H. Shelley.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	William H. Comstock.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-fourth District.....	George M. Case.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Charles L. Kennedy.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-fifth District.....	Dennis McCarthy.....	James G. Blaine
“ “ .....	James J. Belden.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-sixth District.....	{ William B. Woodin (by his alternate, Leander Fitts.) }	James G. Blaine
“ “ .....	John B. Murray.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-seventh District.....	Francis O. Mason.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	George N. Hicks.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-eighth District.....	Thomas C. Platt.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Orlow W. Chapman.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-ninth District.....	Chester S. Cole.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Charles J. Langdon.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirtieth District.....	Edward A. Frost.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Henry A. Bruner.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-first District.....	George G. Hoskins.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	John E. Pound.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-second District.....	Ray V. Pierce.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	John Nice.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-third District.....	Norman M. Allen.....	James G. Blaine
“ “ .....	Loren B. Sessions.....	James G. Blaine

Mr. CONKLING. I rise to inquire of the Chair whether there is any absentee in the delegation. If so, who it is.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is informed by the Secretary that every delegate from New York has responded in person, or an alternate has responded after the delegate's name was called and he failed to answer.

Mr. CONKLING. May I inquire who responded for Mr. Learned?

Mr. LEARNED. I did myself.

Mr. CONKLING. That is all right. My colleague was absent when the roll-call began, and I only wanted to know whether his name had been called and was responded to.

The vote of the State of New York was then announced as above recorded.

The result of the eighteenth ballot was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. No candidate has received a majority of the votes cast.

## RECESS.

Mr. CHANDLER, of Mississippi. [The hour being 3:35, p. m.] I move that the Convention now take a recess until seven o'clock this evening.

The motion was agreed to.

So the Convention, at three o'clock and thirty-five minutes, p. m., took a recess until seven o'clock this evening.

After recess.

The PRESIDENT. [The hour being 7, p. m.] The Convention will come to order. Another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## NINETEENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 279; John Sherman, 96; George F. Edmunds, 81; Elihu B. Washburne, 82; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1; John F. Hartranft, of Pennsylvania, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Hartranft.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	24	3	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	5	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....	.....

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Hartranft.
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	•	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
New York.....	70	50	18	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	5	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	21	1	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	13	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	2	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals .....	756	305	279	96	31	10	32	1	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### TWENTIETH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted :

- Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 308; James G. Blaine, 276; John Sherman, 93; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1; John F. Hartranft, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Hartmanft.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	8					
Arkansas.....	12	12							
California.....	12		12						
Colorado.....	6	6							
Connecticut.....	12		3				9		
Delaware.....	6		6						
Florida.....	8	8							
Georgia.....	22	7	7	8					
Illinois.....	42	24	10				8		
Indiana.....	30	2	21	3			4		
Iowa.....	22		22						
Kansas.....	10	4	6						
Kentucky.....	24	20	2	2					
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6					
Maine.....	14		14						
Maryland.....	16	7	5	4					
Massachusetts.....	28	4		2	19		1		
Michigan.....	22	1	21						
Minnesota.....	10					10			
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6					
Missouri.....	30	29					1		
Nebraska.....	6		6						
Nevada.....	6		6						
New Hampshire.....	10		10						
New Jersey.....	18		16				2		
New York.....	70	50	18	2					
North Carolina.....	20	6		14					
Ohio.....	44		9	34	1				
Oregon.....	6		6						
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	21	1				1	1
Rhode Island.....	8		8						
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1					
Tennessee.....	24	17	5	1	1				
Texas.....	16	13	1	1			1		
Vermont.....	10				10				
Virginia.....	22	16	4	2					
West Virginia.....	10	1	8						
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3			9		
Arizona.....	2		2						
Dakota.....	2	1	1						
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1						
Idaho.....	2		2						
Montana.....	2		2						
New Mexico.....	2		2						
Utah.....	2	1	1						
Washington.....	2		2						
Wyoming.....	2	1	1						
Totals.....	756	808	276	93	31	10	35	1	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

TWENTY-FIRST BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 276; John Sherman, 96; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1; John F. Hartranft, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Hartranft.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	7	7	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
Indiana.....	80	2	21	3	.....	.....	4	.....	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	5	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	80	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
New York.....	70	50	18	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	5	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	21	1	.....	.....	.....	1	1

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Hartranft.
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	17	5	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	2	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	8	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	305	276	96	81	10	35	1	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### TWENTY-SECOND BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 275; John Sherman, 97; George F. Edmunds, 81; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1; John F. Hartranft, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Harttrant.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	7	7	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	21	3	.....	.....	4	.....	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	5	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
New York.....	70	50	18	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	6	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	21	1	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	17	5	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	805	275	97	31	10	35	1	1



The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

TWENTY-THIRD BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 304; James G. Blaine, 275; John Sherman, 97; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 36; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	9	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	7	7	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	22	2	.....	.....	4	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	5	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
New York.....	70	50	18	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	5	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	21	1	.....	.....	.....	2

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	17	5	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	7	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	304	275	97	31	10	36	2

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

TWENTY-FOURTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 279; John Sherman, 93; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	8				
Arkansas.....	12	12						
California.....	12		12					
Colorado.....	6	6						
Connecticut.....	12		8				9	
Delaware.....	6		6					
Florida.....	8	7		1				
Georgia.....	22	7	7	8				
Illinois.....	42	24	10				8	
Indiana.....	80	2	22	2			4	
Iowa.....	22		22					
Kansas.....	10	4	6					
Kentucky.....	24	20	2	2				
Louisiana.....	16	8	4	4				
Maine.....	14		14					
Maryland.....	16	7	5	4				
Massachusetts.....	26	4		2	19		1	
Michigan.....	22	1	21					
Minnesota.....	10					10		
Mississippi.....	16	7	4	5				
Missouri.....	80	29					1	
Nebraska.....	6		6					
Nevada.....	6		6					
New Hampshire.....	10		10					
New Jersey.....	18		16				2	
New York.....	70	50	18	2				
North Carolina.....	20	6		14				
Ohio.....	44		9	34	1			
Oregon.....	6		6					
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	21	1				2
Rhode Island.....	8		8					
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1				
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1			
Texas.....	16	12	1	2			1	
Vermont.....	10				10			
Virginia.....	22	16	8	8				
West Virginia.....	10	1	8					
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	8			9	
Arizona.....	2		2					
Dakota.....	2	1	1					
District of Columbia.....	2		1	1				
Idaho.....	2		2					
Montana.....	2		2					
New Mexico.....	2		2					
Utah.....	2	1	1					
Washington.....	2		2					
Wyoming.....	2	1	1					
Totals.....	756	805	279	78	81	10	85	2

During the ballot:

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Louisiana.

Mr. YOUNG, of Louisiana. *Mr. President:* I ask that the vote of Louisiana be polled.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman question the report of the chairman of the delegation?

Mr. YOUNG. I ask that the vote of the delegation be polled.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman has no such right unless some delegate questions the report of the chairman. The roll will be called when the report of the chairman is questioned.

At the conclusion of the roll-call, and before the announcement of the vote;

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. HICKS. I rise to ask a question of the Chair, for information.

The PRESIDENT. What is the nature of the question?

Mr. HICKS. Pertaining to the vote before it is announced.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will put his question.

Mr. HICKS. The question is this: If an alternate is here from some State or Territory by proxy, or if some person is here in his stead who is irresponsible, and can show no credentials for casting the vote of that alternate, ought that vote to be counted?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair cannot undertake to deal with such a question raised at this time. The Clerk will announce the vote.

The result of the twenty-fourth ballot was then announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### TWENTY-FIFTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 302; James G. Blaine, 281; John Sherman, 94; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	8				
Arkansas.....	12	12						
California.....	12		12					
Colorado.....	6	6						
Connecticut.....	12		8				9	
Delaware.....	6		6					
Florida.....	8	7		1				
Georgia.....	22	7	7	8				
Illinois.....	42	24	10				8	
Indiana.....	30	2	22	2			4	
Iowa.....	22		22					
Kansas.....	10	4	6					
Kentucky.....	24	20	2	2				
Louisiana.....	16	8	4	4				
Maine.....	14		14					
Maryland.....	16	7	5	4				
Massachusetts.....	26	4		2	19		1	
Michigan.....	22	1	21					
Minnesota.....	10					10		
Mississippi.....	16	5	4	6			1	
Missouri.....	80	29					1	
Nebraska.....	6		6					
Nevada.....	6		6					
New Hampshire.....	10		10					
New Jersey.....	18		16				2	
New York.....	70	50	18	2				
North Carolina.....	20	5		15				
Ohio.....	44		9	34	1			
Oregon.....	6		6					
Pennsylvania.....	58	84	21	1				2
Rhode Island.....	8		8					
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1				
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1			
Texas.....	16	12	2	1			1	
Vermont.....	10				10			
Virginia.....	22	16	8	8				
West Virginia.....	10	1	8					
Wisconsin.....	20	1	8	3			8	
Arizona.....	2		2					
Dakota.....	2	1	1					
District of Columbia.....	2		1	1				
Idaho.....	2		2					
Montana.....	2		2					
New Mexico.....	2		2					
Utah.....	2	1	1					
Washington.....	2		2					
Wyoming.....	2	1	1					
Totals .....	756	802	281	94	81	10	35	2

During the ballot:

On the announcement of the vote of the Territory of New Mexico.

Mr. TRACY, of New York. I challenge the vote of New Mexico, and ask to have the roll called.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman question the report of the chairman of that delegation? That is the only ground on which the roll can be called.

Mr. TRACY. I do.

The PRESIDENT. Let the roll of the Territory of New Mexico be called.

The roll of delegates from the Territory of New Mexico was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding as follows:

Wm. Breedon.....	James G. Blaine
Wm. L. Rynerson.....	James G. Blaine

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

TWENTY-SIXTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 303; James G. Blaine, 280; John Sherman, 98; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 36; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	9	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	7	7	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana.....	80	2	22	2	.....	.....	4	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	4	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	5	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	5	4	6	.....	.....	1	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
New York.....	70	50	18	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	6	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	21	1	.....	.....	.....	2
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	2	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	8	.....	.....	9	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	303	280	93	81	10	36	2

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

TWENTY-SEVENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 306; James G. Blaine, 277; John Sherman, 93; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 36; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	9	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	7	7	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	22	2	.....	.....	4	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	4	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	8	5	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	7	4	5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
New York.....	70	50	18	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	5	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	21	1	.....	.....	.....	2



STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	5	1	1	.....	1	.....
Texas.....	16	13	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	8	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	306	277	98	31	10	36	2

The PRESIDENT. No person has received a majority of the votes cast.

Mr. MORSE. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. MORSE. [The hour being 9:05, p. m.] I rise for the purpose of moving an adjournment of the Convention until ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves that the Convention adjourn until ten o'clock to-morrow morning. [After putting the question.] The "ayes"—

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. I dispute the count and demand a division.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair has not expressed any opinion.

Mr. CONKLING. I did not say the Chair had. I give my opinion.

The PRESIDENT. The "ayes" seem to the Chair to have it.

Several DELEGATES. Division.

The PRESIDENT. The rules authorize on the demand of two States a call of the roll if the decision of the Chair is disputed. The Chair, however, will put the question again.

Mr. CONKLING. I am authorized by a majority of the delegates from New York to say that that State seconds the demand for a roll-call, if the motion is insisted upon.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will put the question again and take a *viva voce* vote. [After putting the question.] The "ayes" seem to the Chair to have it.

Several DELEGATES. Division.

Mr. CONKLING. New York demands a roll-call.

The PRESIDENT. A roll-call is demanded by the State of New York. Is the motion seconded by other States?

Mr. FILLEY, of Missouri. Missouri seconds the call for the roll.

A DELEGATE from Connecticut. Connecticut also seconds the call.

The PRESIDENT. The motion is seconded by other States; so the roll will be called.

Mr. MORSE. I withdraw the motion for adjournment.

The PRESIDENT. The motion to adjourn is withdrawn. Another ballot will now be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

TWENTY-EIGHTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 307; James G. Blaine, 279; John Sherman, 91; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	9	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	7	7	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	22	2	.....	.....	4	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	4	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	8	5	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	2	19	.....	1	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	7	4	5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

STATES AND TERRITORIES. *	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
New York.....	70	50	18	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	6	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	21	1	.....	.....	.....	2
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	13	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	8	.....	.....	9	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	307	279	91	81	10	35	2

The PRESIDENT. No person has received a majority of the votes cast.

Mr. LOVERING, of Massachusetts. [The hour being 9:40, p. m.] I move that this Convention do now adjourn until to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves that the Convention adjourn till ten o'clock to-morrow morning. [After putting the question.] The eyes still seem to the Chair to have it. Is a division demanded?

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. I demand a division.

The PRESIDENT. Is the gentleman authorized by the delegation of his State to make that request?

Mr. WHITE. I am, sir.

The PRESIDENT. Is it seconded?

A DELEGATE from Nevada. Yes, by Nevada.

Mr. CONKLING. And by New York.

The PRESIDENT. It is demanded by Kentucky, and seconded by New York and Nevada, that the roll be called. The roll will be called accordingly. Gentlemen desiring to vote that the Convention now stand adjourned until ten o'clock to-morrow morning, will, when their States are called, through their chairman, answer "aye;" those opposed will, when their States are called, answer "no." The Clerk will call the roll of States:

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 446, nays 303, as follows:

<i>States.</i>	<i>No. Del.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>No. Del.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Alabama .....	20	4	15	New York.....	70	20	50
Arkansas .....	12	...	12	North Carolina .....	20	20	...
California.....	12	12	...	Ohio .....	44	44	...
Colorado.....	6	...	6	Oregon.....	6	6	...
Connecticut .....	12	...	12	Pennsylvania.....	58	20	38
Delaware.....	6	6	...	Rhode Island.....	8	8	...
Florida.....	8	...	8	South Carolina.....	14	10	8
Georgia.....	22	20	2	Tennessee.....	24	8	16
Illinois.....	42	2	40	Texas.....	16	8	7
Indiana.....	30	24	4	Vermont.....	10	10	...
Iowa.....	22	22	...	Virginia.....	22	10	11
Kansas.....	10	6	4	West Virginia.....	10	6	3
Kentucky .....	24	2	22	Wisconsin.....	20	19	1
Louisiana.....	16	14	2	Arizona .....	2	2	...
Maine.....	14	14	...	Dakota .....	2	2	...
Maryland.....	16	9	7	District of Columbia...	2	2	...
Massachusetts .....	26	21	5	Idaho.....	2	2	...
Michigan.....	22	21	1	Montana .....	2	2	...
Minnesota.....	10	10	...	New Mexico.....	2	2	...
Mississippi.....	16	12	4	Utah .....	2	2	...
Missouri.....	30	...	30	Washington .....	2	2	...
Nebraska.....	6	6	...	Wyoming.....	2	2	...
Nevada.....	6	6	...				
New Hampshire.....	10	10	...	Totals.....	756	446	303
New Jersey.....	18	18	...				

So the Convention, at nine o'clock and fifty minutes, p. m., adjourned until to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

# SIXTH DAY—TUESDAY, June 8, 1880—10 A. M.

Pursuant to adjournment the Convention met.

The PRESIDENT. The Rev. Dr. Thomas will offer prayer.

The Rev. Dr. H. W. Thomas offered the following

## PRAYER.

Our Father who art in Heaven: Help us with reverence and with confidence, in this morning hour, to look up to Thee for Thy blessing. We acknowledge Thy rule over the nations of the earth and the hearts of men, and we give thanks for Thy great love and mercy to us and to all mankind. May Thy blessing, O Father, be with Thy servants in this Convention, in the duties that lie before them in this hour. We thank Thee that such a scene is possible, of such a gathering of citizens and representatives in peace and order, that millions in their happy homes may thus be represented. Oh, may

every interest of liberty, of good government, of humanity, be sacred in their hands. Grant to them, this day, much of the wisdom that cometh from above, much of that higher sense of responsibility that comes from the consciousness of an invisible presence, that comes from the longer looking, that goes beyond any prejudice or passion of the hour, and looks only to the results in the common good and welfare of all.

We thank Thee, that in the coming to this city, and in this great gathering, there have been peace and order; that there have been no accidents; that there has been generally good will; that the health and lives of the delegates, and the visitors, have been precious in Thy sight. And when their work shall be accomplished, may Thy Providence be over them as they journey homeward. May their families, their dear ones, be safe in Thy keeping, and may they be restored soon to their firesides again. And now let Thy blessing be upon us, and upon our country, and upon the great world of mankind. We ask in the name of Christ. Amen.

The PRESIDENT. Another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### TWENTY-NINTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 278; John Sherman, 116; George F. Edmunds, 12; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 7; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	15	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	9	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	7	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	7	7	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	21	3	.....	.....	4	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Louisiana.....	16	8	4	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	8	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	21	.....	.....	1	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	3	.....	.....	7	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	9	4	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
New York.....	70	50	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	5	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	12	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	5	2	1	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	12	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	805	278	116	12	7	85	2

During the ballot:

On the call of the State of Alabama.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. Sixteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant, one for James G. Blaine, and three for John Sherman.

Mr. WARNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. WARNER. I rise to challenge the correctness of the vote as announced from Alabama.

The **PRESIDENT**. A delegate from Alabama questions the vote as announced by the Chairman. The roll of the delegates of the State will be called.

Mr. **GEO. TURNER**. *Mr. President*: I wish to make a statement and ask the ruling of the Chair.

The **PRESIDENT**. The Chair will hear the gentleman's point of order.

Mr. **GEO. TURNER**. Yesterday, when I cast the votes of the delegates of Alabama, it was without reference to the actual presence in the hall of a delegate, but upon his express authority. I did it for the friends of all the candidates. This morning one of the delegates was unable to attend this Convention because he was feeling unwell, and authorized and instructed me to cast and record his vote.

The **PRESIDENT**. The gentleman is not stating a point of order which now arises, and must suspend.

Mr. **GEO. TURNER**. I am explaining. I desire to ask the Chair whether I may be permitted to do it.

The **PRESIDENT**. The roll of the State will be called. The question will be determined when it arises, and not before.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Alabama was then called; the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

#### DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

George Turner.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Ben. S. Turner.....	Ulysses S. Grant
J. A. Thomasson.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Geo. M. Braxdale.....	Ulysses S. Grant

#### DISTRICTS.

First District.....	James Gillette.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	Allen Alexander.....	

Mr. **GEO. TURNER**, of Alabama [Chairman of delegation].  
Ulysses S. Grant.

Mr. **WARNER**. The answer was not made by Mr. Alexander.

The **PRESIDENT**. Was the answer made by Mr. Alexander in person?

Mr. **TURNER**. It was made by me, by Mr. Alexander's direction, from the first.

The **PRESIDENT**. The answer not being made by Mr. Alexander, the roll of the State will proceed; Mr. Alexander's alternate will then be called.

The call was proceeded with, resulting as follows:

Second District.....	Paul Strobach.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	George W. Washington.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Third District.....	Isaac Heyman.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	Wm. Youngblood.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fourth District.....	Wm. J. Stevens.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	James T. Rapier.....	John Sherman
Fifth District.....	L. E. Parsons, Jr.....	James G. Blaine
" " .....	H. C. Bryan.....	Ulysses S. Grant

Sixth District.....	W. S. Bird.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	N. W. Trimble.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventh District.....	W. H. Smith.....	John Sherman
" " .....	Willard Warner.....	John Sherman
Eighth District.....	J. M. Hinds.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" " .....	A. W. McCullough.....	[No response.]
" " .....	T. J. Lake (alternate for A. W. McCullough) .....	[No response.]

A DELEGATE from Alabama. Mr. Brandon is the gentleman here.

The SECRETARY [calling]. W. L. Matthews, alternate for Allen Alexander. [No response].

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Alabama please give his attention? When a delegate does not answer to his name, the Chair will then direct to be called the name of the alternate borne on the roll opposite to the name of that delegate. If he does not respond, the Chair will then have called in order the names of the alternates for that class of delegates; for instance, if it be a delegate-at-large not answering, the other alternates-at-large; if it be a district delegate not answering, the other alternate for that district, giving the preference to the alternate borne on the roll opposite to the name of the delegate not answering.

Mr. GEO. TURNER. *Mr. President:* I desire to read a resolution adopted by the State convention of Alabama.

The PRESIDENT. That is out of order.

Mr. GEO. TURNER. It is with reference to alternates, for the information of the Chair.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is only authorized by the rules of the Convention to deal with the roll, and not to deal with the titles of delegates to their seats. The Chair will cause the roll to be called and to be reported upon that principle. At the close of the entire roll-call on the ballot, the gentleman from Alabama, or any other delegate, may make a question of order as to the correctness of the ruling of the Chair, and submit that question to the Convention at that time. The Secretary will call the other alternate from the same district.

The SECRETARY [calling]. "Moses Bracey." [No response].

The PRESIDENT. No response being made by either alternate, the call will proceed.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. GARFIELD. I rise to a question of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state his question of order.

Mr. GARFIELD. If I understood the Chair aright, he ruled that any delegate could question the correctness of the count of any State.

The PRESIDENT. Certainly.

Mr. GARFIELD. I think the language of the rule excludes that construction. I think it only applies to any delegate from the State in question.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the rule on that subject.

Mr. GARFIELD. I do not know how it is written, but I know the intention of the Committee was to confine it to the State in which the question arises as to the correctness of the count.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the rule.



The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

"Rule 8. In the record of the vote by States, the vote of each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the Chairman; and in case the votes of any State, Territory or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition; but, if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the chairman of his delegation, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of the members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given."

The PRESIDENT. The question stated by the gentleman from Ohio does not now arise as a practical question, the question now raised being raised by a delegate from the State of Alabama.

Mr. GARFIELD. I beg pardon of the Chair. I thought it was raised by a delegate from another State.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the other alternate from the proper district.

The SECRETARY [calling]. D. S. Brandon, the other alternate for the Eighth district of Alabama.

Mr. BRANDON, of Alabama. "Ulysses S. Grant."

Mr. WARNER, of Alabama. I wish to understand the ruling of the Chair. Can any delegate *not* from the district from which the absent delegate comes vote for that district?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state his ruling again, and desires the attention of the Convention. The Chair holds that, when a delegate fails to respond, the name of the alternate borne upon the roll opposite that delegate shall then be called. If that alternate does not respond, the names of the other alternates selected for the same representation, by the same authority, will be called in their order; as, for instance, if a delegate-at-large fails to respond, and the alternate whose name is on the roll opposite that delegate-at-large also fails to respond, the Chair will direct the other three alternates-at-large to be called in their order, and there stop. If, on the other hand, the failure to respond be that of a district delegate, the Chair will direct the name of the other alternate from that district (the *first* one failing to respond) to be called, and there stop.

Mr. CONKLING. The other alternate from the same district?

The PRESIDENT. From the same district, and from that only.

Mr. WARNER. This man is not from that district. That is the point I make.

The PRESIDENT. Two delegates from Alabama have failed to respond. In one case no alternate has responded; in the other case an alternate responded for the last delegate failing to respond. The Secretary will now report the vote of Alabama. If any question be made it will be open to any member of the Convention to make it when the final result is announced on this ballot.

The Clerk then announced the vote of Alabama as above recorded.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Virginia.

Mr. WOLTZ, of Virginia. I question the correctness of the vote as announced by the Chairman.

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will call the roll of Virginia.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Virginia was then called; the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

Peter J. Carter.....[No response.]  
J. W. Poindexter.....Ulysses S. Grant  
D. Sheffey Lewis.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Joseph Jorgenson.....Ulysses S. Grant

DISTRICTS.

First District.....John W. Woltz.....Ulysses S. Grant  
" ".....L. R. Stewart.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Second District.....George E. Bowden.....John Sherman  
" ".....Robert Norton.....John Sherman  
Third District.....O. H. Russell.....John Sherman  
" ".....Josiah Crump.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Fourth District.....{ W. L. Fernald (by his alternate, }.....John Sherman  
" ".....Mr. R. De Mortie)  
" ".....James D. Brady.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Fifth District.....W. H. Plesants.....Ulysses S. Grant  
" ".....H. Clay Harris.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Sixth District.....J. F. Wilson.....James G. Blaine  
" ".....W. R. Watkins.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Seventh District.....F. F. Ware.....Ulysses S. Grant  
" ".....John Donovan.....Ulysses S. Grant  
Eighth District.....Lunsford L. Lewis.....Ulysses S. Grant  
" ".....William Brown.....James G. Blaine  
Ninth District.....W. O. Austin.....Ulysses S. Grant  
" ".....C. C. Tompkins.....Ulysses S. Grant

The Secretary again called—

"PETER J. CARTER." [No response.]

Then—

"JOHN T. DEZENDORF, alternate for Peter J. Carter." [No response.]

Mr. WOLTZ, of Virginia. *Mr. President:* One of the delegates-at-large from Virginia is absent. There is one of the alternates present, but not the alternate for P. J. Carter, who is absent. Has the delegation a right to have the name of the alternate who is present called, under the ruling of the Chair, "to cast the vote of a delegate-at-large?"

The PRESIDENT. The alternate whose name is borne on the roll opposite the name of the delegate failing to respond, the other alternates-at-large may answer the call in their order. The Clerk will call the others in their order.

The SECRETARY [calling]. "Samuel M. Yost."

Mr. YOST, of Virginia. "Ulysses S. Grant."

Mr. WOLTZ. I rise to a question of privilege.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state his question of privilege.

Mr. WOLTZ. In giving the vote before, one of the delegates requested me to cast his vote for James G. Blaine, but when his

name was called he changed his vote to John Sherman. He has now just authorized me to say that he desires to cast his vote as he did when I announced it—for Mr. Blaine, which will make the vote of Virginia stand as before—sixteen for Grant, three for Sherman and three for Blaine.

The PRESIDENT. The vote cannot be changed after it has been cast. [After a pause.] The Chair is in error. The gentleman may change his vote at any time before the vote is announced, and he is entitled to change his vote now if he sees fit. Will the chairman of the Virginia delegation please inform the Chair of the name of the delegate who desires to have his name called?

Mr. WOLTZ. His name is Robert Norton.

The SECRETARY [calling]. Robert Norton, of the Second Congressional district of Virginia.

Mr. NORTON. "James G. Blaine."

The Clerk then announced the vote of Virginia: For Ulysses S. Grant, 16; for James G. Blaine, 3; for John Sherman, 3; as above recorded.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of West Virginia.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM, of West Virginia. I challenge the announcement of the vote of West Virginia.

The PRESIDENT. The vote being challenged, the roll of the State will be called.

The roll of the delegation from the State of West Virginia was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

A. W. Campbell.....	James G. Blaine
W. J. Burley.....	James G. Blaine
S. P. McCormick.....	James G. Blaine
John H. Riley.....	James G. Blaine
C. D. Hubbard.....	James G. Blaine
A. C. Moore.....	James G. Blaine
J. F. Hoke.....	James G. Blaine
J. M. Hagans.....	James G. Blaine
J. W. Davis.....	[No response.]
Amos Dye (as alternate of J. W. Davis).....	[No response.]
John S. Cunningham (another alternate).....	John Sherman
J. H. Rossler.....	Ulysses S. Grant

The vote of West Virginia was then announced as above recorded.

The result of the twenty-ninth ballot was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

THIRTIETH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 756. [Necessary to a choice, 379.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 306; James G. Blaine, 279; John Sherman, 120; George F. Edmunds, 11; Elihu B. Washburne, 33; William Windom, 4; James A. Garfield, 2; Philip H. Sheridan, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Sheridan.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	7	7	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	12	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	20	4	.....	.....	4	.....	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	4	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	2	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	21	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	6	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	9	4	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	14	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
New York.....	70	50	18	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	6	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	34	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	11	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	5	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunda.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Sheridan.
Texas.....	16	12	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	8	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Totals .....	756	806	279	120	11	4	83	2	1

During the ballot:

On the call of the State of Alabama.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* I desire to ask the direction of the Chair before I can cast the vote of Alabama. When a delegate, desiring to be temporarily absent, authorizes the chairman of the delegation to cast his vote for a certain candidate, has the chairman of the delegation the right to so cast it?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair must decline to decide any question of order in advance. The gentleman is called upon to respond for his State, and he must do it according to his own sense of duty. If his response be questioned by any delegate, the Chair will then deal with the question.

Mr. TURNER. Under the statement of the Chair, I cast the vote of Alabama—sixteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant, three for John Sherman, and one for James G. Blaine.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Georgia.

Mr. DEVEAUX, of Georgia. I question the correctness of the vote of Florida, and call for a poll of that State.

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. The gentleman is not a member of the Florida delegation.

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. WHITE. My point of order is, whether the gentleman who asks for a call of the roll belongs to the Florida delegation?

Mr. HICKS. The gentleman who challenges the vote of the Florida delegation is not a member of that delegation.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is of opinion that under the rule any member of the Convention has a right to question the correctness of the vote of any State. That is the letter of the rule, and it is obviously equally interesting to every member of the Convention that the vote should be correctly counted.

Mr. WHITE. I call for the reading of that rule.

The PRESIDENT. The rule will be again read, for information.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows :

"Rule 8. In the record of the vote by States, the vote of each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the Chairman; and in case the votes of any State, Territory or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition; but, if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the chairman of *his delegation*, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result recorded in accordance with the votes individually given."

Mr. WHITE. I simply desire to say that, under the emphasis as given by the Clerk, the Chair will see that my point of order is correct.

The PRESIDENT. The rules which the Convention have adopted are largely a copy of the rules which were framed for the government of the Convention four years ago. In this particular the rule differs. The Chair was led into an error. The gentleman from Kentucky is correct. No challenge being taken from the State of Florida, the roll will proceed.

On the call of the State of Minnesota.

Mr. SINCLAIR, of Minnesota. Will the Chair direct the roll of the State to be called?

The PRESIDENT. The chairman of the delegation from the State of Minnesota declining to report, the Chair, under the ruling yesterday, will consider that equivalent to the questioning of the report by a delegate, and will order the roll of the State to be called.

The SECRETARY. "The State of Minnesota. Delegates-at-large—"

Mr. SINCLAIR. I waive the call of the roll and cast the vote.

On the announcement of the vote of the Territory of Wyoming.

Lieut.-Gen. SHERIDAN. [With the permission of the Chair.] I am very much obliged to the delegate from Wyoming for mentioning my name in this connection; but there is no way in which I could accept a nomination from this Convention, if it were possible, unless I should be permitted to turn it over to my best friend.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair presumed the unanimous consent of the Convention to permit the illustrious soldier who has just spoken to interrupt its order for that purpose. It will be a privilege accorded to no other person whatever.

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## THIRTY-FIRST BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 808; James G. Blaine, 276; John Sherman, 118; George F. Edmunds, 11; Elihu B. Washburne, 37; William Windom, 3; James A. Garfield, 1; Roscoe Conkling, of New York, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Conkling.
Alabama.....	20	15	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	7	7	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	12	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	18	3	.....	.....	7	.....	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	3	4	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	2	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	28	4	.....	21	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	6	.....	.....	3	1	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	9	4	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	14	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
New York.....	70	50	18	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	6	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	35	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	11	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	5	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Windom.	Edmunds.	Washburne.	Garfield.	Conkling.
Texas.....	16	18	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	8	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	808	276	118	11	8	87	1	1

During the ballot:

On the call of the State of Alabama.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. Alabama casts sixteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant, three for John Sherman, and one for James G. Blaine.

Mr. WARNER, of Alabama. I rise to again challenge the vote of Alabama, as announced, for the same cause as before.

The PRESIDENT. The vote being challenged, the roll of that State will be called.

Mr. GEO. TURNER. *Mr. President:* I ask the Chair whether or not the chairman of the delegation has the power to cast the vote of an absent delegate—only temporarily absent—who authorizes him to cast that vote. I have now cast the vote of that delegate; but if the Chair rules that I have no right to do so, that will obviate the necessity for the call of the roll of this delegation.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is of opinion that the vote of no delegate can be cast by any person except himself; and that the vote of no alternate can be given except by the alternate.

Mr. TURNER. I change the vote of Alabama, then, to fifteen for Ulysses S. Grant, three for John Sherman, and one for James G. Blaine.

The vote was so recorded.

The result of the thirty-first ballot was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.



## X THIRTY-SECOND BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 309; James G. Blaine, 270; John Sherman, 117; George F. Edmunds, 11; Elihu B. Washburne, 44; William Windom, 3; James A. Garfield, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	15	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	9	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	7	7	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	12	.....	.....	.....	6	.....
Indiana.....	30	2	13	3	.....	.....	12	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	4	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	2	7	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	21	.....	.....	1	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	6	.....	.....	3	1	.....
Mississippi.....	16	9	4	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	14	2	.....	.....	2	.....
New York.....	70	50	18	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	6	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	34	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	35	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	11	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	5	3	.....	.....	.....	.....

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Texas.....	16	13	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	5	3	.....	.....	11	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals .....	756	309	270	117	11	3	44	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

### THIRTY-THIRD BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted :

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 309; James G. Blaine, 276; John Sherman, 110; George F. Edmunds, 11; Elihu B. Washburne, 44; William Windom, 4; James A. Garfield, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunda.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	15	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	9	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	8	9	5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana.....	80	2	14	2	.....	.....	12	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	4	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	2	7	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	21	.....	.....	1	.....
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	.....	6	.....	.....	4	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	8	4	8	.....	.....	1	.....
Missouri.....	80	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	14	2	.....	.....	2	.....
New York.....	70	50	18	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	6	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	84	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	35	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	11	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	16	5	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	18	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3	.....	.....	9	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	809	276	110	11	4	44	1

During the ballot:

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Georgia.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* The absent member of the Alabama delegation is now here, and I desire to record the vote of Alabama—sixteen for Ulysses S. Grant and four for James G. Blaine.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair deems it too late on this vote.

At the conclusion of the roll-call, and before the announcement of the result.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* I rise to ask whether it is now competent for the absent delegate from Alabama, who has returned into the hall, to have his vote recorded?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair holds that it is not.

Mr. STEVENS, of Alabama. I question the correctness of the announcement by the chairman of the vote of Alabama

The PRESIDENT. It is too late now to make that question. The Chair will direct the last portion of the seventh rule to be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

“When any State has announced its vote it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error.”

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### THIRTY-FOURTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 756. [Necessary to a choice, 379.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 312; James G. Blaine, 275; John Sherman, 107; George F. Edmunds, 11; Elihu B. Washburne, 30; William Windom, 4; James A. Garfield, 17—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	16	4					
Arkansas.....	12	12						
California.....	12		12					
Colorado.....	6	6						
Connecticut.....	12		8				9	
Delaware.....	6		6					
Florida.....	8	8						
Georgia.....	22	8	9	5				
Illinois.....	42	24	10				8	
Indiana.....	30	2	20	2			6	
Iowa.....	22		22					
Kansas.....	10	4	6					
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	8				
Louisiana.....	16	8	4	4				
Maine.....	14		14					
Maryland.....	16	7	2	7				
Massachusetts.....	26	4		21			1	
Michigan.....	22	1	21					
Minnesota.....	10		6			4		
Mississippi.....	16	8	4	8			1	
Missouri.....	30	20					1	
Nebraska.....	6		6					
Nevada.....	6		6					
New Hampshire.....	10		10					
New Jersey.....	18		14	2			2	
New York.....	70	50	18	2				
North Carolina.....	20	6		14				
Ohio.....	44		9	34	1			
Oregon.....	6		6					
Pennsylvania.....	68	35	22					1
Rhode Island.....	8		8					
South Carolina.....	14	11	1	2				
Tennessee.....	24	17	4	8				
Texas.....	16	18	1	1			1	
Vermont.....	10				10			
Virginia.....	22	16	8	8				
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	1				
Wisconsin.....	20	2	1				1	16
Arizona.....	2		2					
Dakota.....	2	1	1					
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1					
Idaho.....	2		2					
Montana.....	2		2					
New Mexico.....	2		2					
Utah.....	2	1	1					
Washington.....	2		2					
Wyoming.....	2	1	1					
Totals.....	756	812	275	107	11	4	80	17

On the announcement of the result of the ballot.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. GARFIELD. I rise to a question of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio rises to a question of order.

Mr. GARFIELD. I challenge the correctness of the announcement. The announcement contains votes for me. No man has a right, without the consent of the person voted for, to announce that person's name, and vote for him, in this Convention. Such consent I have not given.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio is not stating a question of order. He will resume his seat. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

THIRTY-FIFTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 756. [Necessary to a choice, 379.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 313; James G. Blaine, 257; John Sherman, 99; George F. Edmunds, 11; Elihu B. Washburne, 23; William Windom, 3; James A. Garfield, 50—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	16	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	9	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	8	9	5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	10	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
Indiana.....	30	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	27
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	4	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	8	4	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	3	2	.....	.....	.....	4
Massachusetts.....	26	4	.....	21	.....	.....	1	.....

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Michigan.....	22	1	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	1	6	.....	.....	3	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	8	4	3	.....	.....	.....	1
Missouri.....	30	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	.....	14	2	.....	.....	2	.....
New York.....	70	50	18	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	6	.....	18	.....	.....	.....	1
Ohio.....	44	.....	9	84	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	36	20	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	11	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	17	4	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	13	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	3	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	16
Arizona.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	813	257	99	11	3	28	50

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

### THIRTY-SIXTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

James A. Garfield received 399; Ulysses S. Grant, 306; James G. Blaine, 42; Elihu B. Washburne, 5; John Sherman, 3—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Blaine.	Sherman.	Washburne.	Garfield.
Alabama.....	20	16	4			
Arkansas.....	12	12				
California.....	12		12			
Colorado.....	6	6				
Connecticut.....	12		1			11
Delaware.....	6		6			
Florida.....	8	8				
Georgia.....	22	8	10	8		1
Illinois.....	42	24	6		5	7
Indiana.....	30	1				29
Iowa.....	22					22
Kansas.....	10	4				6
Kentucky.....	24	20	1			8
Louisiana.....	16	8				8
Maine.....	14					14
Maryland.....	16	6				10
Massachusetts.....	26	4				22
Michigan.....	22	1				21
Minnesota.....	10	2				8
Mississippi.....	16	7				9
Missouri.....	30	29				1
Nebraska.....	6					6
Nevada.....	6	2	1			8
New Hampshire.....	10					10
New Jersey.....	18					18
New York.....	70	59				20
North Carolina.....	20	5				15
Ohio.....	44					43
Oregon.....	6					6
Pennsylvania.....	58	37				21
Rhode Island.....	8					8
South Carolina.....	14	8				6
Tennessee.....	24	15	1			8
Texas.....	16	13				8
Vermont.....	10					10
Virginia.....	22	19				8
West Virginia.....	10	1				9
Wisconsin.....	20					20
Arizona.....	2					2
Dakota.....	2					2
District of Columbia.....	2					2
Idaho.....	2					2
Montana.....	2					2
New Mexico.....	2					2
Utah.....	2					2
Washington.....	2					2
Wyoming.....	2					2
Totals.....	756	806	42	3	5	399



During the ballot:

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Maryland.

Mr. CRESSWELL, of Maryland. I demand a call of the roll of the Maryland delegation.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman question the correctness of the vote, as announced by the chairman?

Mr. CRESSWELL. I do question the accuracy of the report made by the chairman of the Maryland delegation.

Mr. GARY, of Maryland. I wish to make an explanation—

The PRESIDENT. It is out of order. The Clerk will call the roll.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Maryland was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

James A. Gary.....	James A. Garfield
Lloyd Lowndes, Jr.....	James A. Garfield
J. Morrison Harris.....	James A. Garfield
Jacob Tome.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Charles T. Westcott.....	James A. Garfield
Samuel Mallalien.....	James A. Garfield
John A. J. Creswell.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Jacob J. Weaver, Jr.....	James A. Garfield
D. Pinkney West.....	Ulysses S. Grant
W. W. Johnson.....	Ulysses S. Grant
William J. Hooper.....	Ulysses S. Grant
H. J. Brown.....	Ulysses S. Grant
J. Parran Crane.....	James A. Garfield
John W. Belt.....	James A. Garfield
Upton Buhrman.....	James A. Garfield
Benjamin H. Miller.....	James A. Garfield

Mr. GARY. I now waive my right for an explanation.

The vote of the State of Maryland was then announced as above recorded.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Minnesota.

Mr. DRAKE, of Minnesota. I question the announcement of the chairman of the delegation from Minnesota and demand the roll to be called.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Minnesota was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

#### DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

D. Sinclair.....	Ulysses S. Grant
A. O. Whipple.....	James A. Garfield
D. M. Sabin.....	James A. Garfield
Dorilus Morrison.....	James A. Garfield

DISTRICTS.

First District.....	A. C. Wedge.....	James A. Garfield
" ".....	J. V. Daniels.....	James A. Garfield
Second District.....	Marcus Johnson.....	James A. Garfield
" ".....	George Bryant.....	James A. Garfield
Third District.....	E. F. Drake.....	James A. Garfield
" ".....	C. F. Kindred.....	Ulysses S. Grant

The vote of the State of Minnesota was then announced as above recorded.

On the call of the State of Mississippi.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE MISSISSIPPI DELEGATION. Eight votes for Ulysses S. Grant and eight for James A. Garfield.

Mr. CARTER, of Mississippi. I desire to have the roll called of the Mississippi delegation.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman question the correctness of the announcement of the chairman?

Mr. CARTER. I do, sir, and demand a call of the roll.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Mississippi was then called; the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

Blanche K. Bruce.....	Ulysses S. Grant
James Hill.....	James A. Garfield
George M. Buchanan.....	James A. Garfield
H. C. Carter.....	Ulysses S. Grant
W. H. Kennon.....	Ulysses S. Grant
George C. McKee.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Henry C. Miles.....	James A. Garfield
Joshua R. Smith.....	Ulysses S. Grant
George W. Gayles.....	Ulysses S. Grant
F. M. Libby.....	James A. Garfield
Samuel P. Hurst.....	James A. Garfield
W. W. Bell.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Green C. Chandler.....	James A. Garfield
Charles W. Clarke.....	James A. Garfield
R. H. Montgomery.....	James A. Garfield
Richard F. Beck.....	[No response.]
H. C. Powers (alternate for Richard F. Beck).....	[No response.]

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen from Mississippi will give their attention. There is no separation of their delegation into Congressional districts, and, under the rule announced by the Chair this morning, the alternates will be called in their order. The first alternate answering will be recognized, the alternate whose name is borne opposite to the name of the delegate failing to respond.

The SECRETARY [calling]. "John R. Lynch, of Mississippi."

Mr. LYNCH. James A Garfield.

The vote of the State of Mississippi was then announced: For James A. Garfield, 9; for Ulysses S. Grant, 7, as above recorded.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Nevada.

A DELEGATE from Nevada. I challenge the correctness of the vote, and ask that the State be polled.

The PRESIDENT. The roll will be called.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Nevada was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

E. Strother.....	James A. Garfield
W. W. Bishop.....	James A. Garfield
C. C. Stevenson.....	Ulysses S. Grant
T. D. Edwards.....	James G. Blaine
J. J. Meigs.....	Ulysses S. Grant
M. D. Foley.....	James A. Garfield

The vote of the State of Nevada was then announced as above recorded.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of South Carolina.

Mr. TAFT, of South Carolina. *Mr. President*, I question the correctness of the announcement of the vote of South Carolina.

The PRESIDENT. The roll of South Carolina will be called.

The roll of the delegation from the State of South Carolina was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

#### DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

E. W. M. Mackey.....	James A. Garfield
E. M. Brayton.....	Ulysses S. Grant
R. B. Elliott.....	James A. Garfield
Samuel Lee.....	James A. Garfield

#### DISTRICTS.

First District.....	D. M. McCall.....	James A. Garfield
" ".....	W. A. Hayne.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Second District.....	W. N. Taft.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" ".....	C. C. Bowen.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Third District.....	W. M. Fine.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" ".....	C. M. Wilder.....	James A. Garfield
Fourth District.....	Samuel T. Pioneer.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" ".....	Wilson Cook.....	James A. Garfield
Fifth District.....	W. J. Whipper.....	Ulysses S. Grant
" ".....	W. F. Meyers.....	Ulysses S. Grant

The vote of the State of South Carolina was then announced as above recorded.

On the call of the State of Tennessee.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. For Ulysses S. Grant, fifteen; for James A. Garfield, eight; for James G. Blaine, one.

Mr. WISENER, of Tennessee. I question the correctness of the vote as announced.

Mr. HOUCK. I made a mistake. The vote of Tennessee will stand, Ulysses S. Grant, sixteen; James A. Garfield, seven, and James G. Blaine, one.

Mr. WISENER. I still question the correctness of the vote.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll of the State of Tennessee.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Tennessee was then called; the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

L. C. Houck.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Horace H. Harrison.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Jacob N. Thornburgh.....	Ulysses S. Grant
David Nunn.....	James G. Blaine

DISTRICTS.

First District.....	{ R. R. Butler (by J. W. } { Browne, his alternate) }	James A. Garfield
“ “ .....	Jesse L. Rogers.....	James A. Garfield
Second District.....	E. J. Sandford.....	James A. Garfield
“ “ .....	J. M. Cordell.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Third District.....	W. S. Tipton.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	W. P. Cate.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fourth District.....	H. L. W. Cheatham.....	James A. Garfield
“ “ .....	J. S. Smith.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fifth District.....	W. H. Wisener.....	

Mr. WISENER. I wish to make an explanation. Will the Convention indulge me half a minute? [Cries of “No, no,” and “vote.”] I am the oldest man in the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The galleries and the Convention will observe that the gentleman who now seeks to vote is a gentleman of advanced age.

Mr. WISENER. I came here to vote for General Grant. If the Convention would allow me to make an explanation, I would vote for James A. Garfield; but as they have not allowed me to do it, I will vote for Ulysses S. Grant.

Fifth District.....	W. Y. Elliott.....	James A. Garfield
Sixth District.....	S. O. W. Brandon.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	W. H. Young.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventh District.....	A. M. Hughes, Sr.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	B. A. J. Nixon.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighth District.....	G. G. Muse.....	James A. Garfield
“ “ .....	E. G. Ridgeley.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Ninth District.....	R. W. Hall.....	James A. Garfield
“ “ .....	Hunt Summerville.....	James A. Garfield
Tenth District.....	Fred. R. Hunt.....	Ulysses S. Grant
“ “ .....	Larkin Williams.....	Ulysses S. Grant

The vote of the State of Tennessee was then announced: For Ulysses S. Grant, 15; for James A. Garfield, 8; for James G. Blaine, 1, as above recorded.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Virginia.

A DELEGATE from Virginia. I challenge the correctness of the announcement of the vote of West Virginia, and demand a call of the roll.

The PRESIDENT. The roll of Virginia will be called.

Mr. WOLTZ, of Virginia. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman address the Chair?

Mr. WOLTZ. I rise for the purpose of vindicating myself as chairman of this delegation. The correctness of the vote of my State has been called in question as announced by myself on several occasions on this floor.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order. The rule of the Convention is imperative.

The DELEGATE from Virginia. I withdraw the request for the call. I am satisfied, Mr. President.

On the call of the State of Wisconsin.

Mr. CASSODAY, of Wisconsin. Eighteen votes for James A. Garfield and two votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [After a pause.] Is it in order to correct the vote of Wisconsin?

The PRESIDENT. You can correct a numerical error, but cannot change a vote.

Mr. CASSODAY. It is a numerical error. The vote should stand twenty for James A. Garfield.

The vote was so recorded.

At the conclusion of the roll-call, and before the announcement of the result.

The PRESIDENT. The roll of States will now be called, and the vote of each State announced by the Secretary as it is called. The delegates from each State will give their careful attention, that the historical record of the vote of their States may be correct.

The roll of States, Territories and the District of Columbia was then called, the vote verified, and the result of the thirty-sixth ballot announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. James A. Garfield, of Ohio, is nominated for President of the United States. Shall the nomination be made unanimous?

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. *Mr. President*: James A. Garfield, of Ohio, having received a majority of all the votes cast, I rise to move that he be unanimously presented as the nominee of the Convention. The Chair, under the rule, anticipates my motion; but, being on my feet, I avail myself of the opportunity to congratulate the Republican party of the United States upon the good nature and the well-tempered rivalry which has distinguished this animated contest.

Several DELEGATES. Louder.

Mr. CONKLING. I would speak louder, but, having for hours sat shivering under the cold wind of these open windows, I find myself

unable to do so. I was in the act to say that I trust the zeal, the fervor, and now the unanimity seen in this great assemblage will be transplanted to the field of the final conflict, and that all of us who have borne a part against each other will be found with equal zeal bearing the banner—with equal zeal carrying the lance of the Republican party into the ranks of the enemy.

Mr. LOGAN, of Illinois. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* We are to be congratulated that we have arrived at a conclusion in reference to presenting the name of a candidate to become the standard-bearer of the Republican party for President of the United States. In union and harmony there is strength. Whatever may have transpired in this Convention that may have momentarily marred the feelings of any one here, I hope that, in our conclusion, it will pass from our minds. I, sir, with the friends of, I think, one of the grandest men that graces the face of the earth, stood here to fight a friendly battle in favor of his nomination; but, sir, this Convention has chosen another leader. The men who stood by Grant's banners will be seen in the front of this contest on the field. We will go forward in this contest, sir, not with tied hands, not with sealed lips, not with bridled tongues, but to speak the truth in favor of the grandest party that has ever been organized in this country; to maintain its principles, to maintain its power, to preserve its ascendancy; and, sir, with the leader you have selected, my judgment is that victory will perch upon our banners. I, sir, as one of the representatives from the State of Illinois, second the nomination of James A. Garfield, of Ohio, and I hope it may be made unanimous.

Mr. BEAVER, of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President:* The State of Pennsylvania having had the honor of first naming in this Convention the gentleman who has been nominated as the standard-bearer of the Republican party in the approaching national contest, I rise to second the motion which has been made to make that nomination unanimous, and to assure this Convention and the people of this country that Pennsylvania is heartily in accord with this nomination; that she gives her full concurrence to it, and that this country may expect from her the best majority that has been given for a Presidential candidate in many years.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. President:* Standing here and returning heart-felt thanks to the many men in this Convention who have aided us in the fight that we have made for the Senator from Maine; and speaking, as I know that I do, for them here, I say this most heartily: We have not got the man we came up here hoping to nominate, but we have got a man in whom we have the greatest and most profound confidence. The nominee of this Convention is no new or untried man, and in that respect is no "dark horse." He came here representing his State in the front of that delegation, and was seen here; every man knew him before that, because of his record; and because of that, and because of our faith in him, and because we were in the emergency glad to help make him candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States—because of these things I stand here and pledge the Blaine forces of this Convention to earnest effort from now until the ides of November, that shall make James A. Garfield President of the United States.

Mr. PLEASANTS, of Virginia. *Mr. President:* As New York, Illinois and Maine, along with Pennsylvania, have spoken, I stand here, sir, probably occupying a peculiar position to that of the majority of the people of this Convention. I came here, sir, from Virginia,

instructed by a State convention to vote for that peculiar and most distinguished man—the most renowned of the world—Ulysses S. Grant—and I have proved it since I have been standing on this floor—on all occasions casting my vote to the last for that man. But, sirs, as the Convention has thought best to nominate James A. Garfield, of Ohio, for President of the United States, we will heartily support him. It may not be that we can promise to you Virginia, but we can promise you this, as humble men, and as men who have on all occasions shown devotion to the Republican principles of the country—men who, as Virginian Republicans, on one occasion gave the electoral vote of Virginia to Ulysses S. Grant, that while a division exists in the Democratic party of that State, we shall endeavor, in November next, to carry Virginia for your nominee.

Though it was said we had all to receive and nothing to give, we now receive James A. Garfield, and will endeavor to give him Virginia. I for one, and I speak for the Virginia delegation and for every Republican in the State, second the nomination of James A. Garfield, and second the motion to make that nomination unanimous.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. *Mr. President:* Already I have received from one of the central localities of West Virginia a dispatch which brings greeting to this Convention, pledging their best efforts for James A. Garfield, the next President of the United States.

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. *Mr. President:* I will not detain the Convention for more than one word. It is well known that if those gentlemen who have imagined that the South has nothing to give, have themselves anything to give this time they owe it largely to the unity fidelity and integrity of the Republican State of Florida. We have not nominated our Moses, but have placed him upon the Mount of Visions, from which, in the serene and cloudless rest of his well earned glory, he can look down over the conflict. We have placed the mantle of commandership upon the shoulders, and the sword of civil power into the hands of one of the bravest, noblest, most aggressive and wisest Joshuas in all the hosts of our Republican army.

Mr. President, in the name of Florida, as in the past—and ever since the garments dyed in blood have been rolled away—we have given the electoral vote of Florida for the Republican nominee, so in this contest, sir, I pledge the State of Florida to deliver her four electoral votes for James A. Garfield, of Ohio.

Mr. NORTON, of Texas. *Mr. President:* Texas cordially responds to the nomination that has just been made of James A. Garfield. Sir, we have been here for days in a most exciting contest, reminding me of the great convention of the Whig party, when the glorious leader, Henry Clay, was defeated in that body by Zachary Taylor.

Those of us who loved and honored Henry Clay, yet put our shoulders to the wheel and worked manfully in behalf of General Taylor. The friends of the great chieftain, General Grant, will be found in the coming contest in all portions of this Union doing battle in behalf of Garfield, of Ohio.

He is not unknown to us. His history is familiar to us. We are proud of the nomination, and, sir, we hope that under his administration we will witness again in this country a union of hearts and of hands, a union of the most fraternal kind. In the wilds of the South we will stand to a man for the nominee.

Mr. FOSTER, of Ohio. I hold in my hand a dispatch that I will have read to the Convention. It shows that the Democratic House of Representatives, composed of the gentlemen with whom our distinguished nominee has battled and contended for years, holds him in the very highest regard. The dispatch reads as follows:

"The House of Representatives has appointed a committee of five of its oldest members to congratulate James A. Garfield on his nomination—William D. Kelley appointed chairman—and adjourned with three cheers for Garfield."

I have another dispatch, that I desire to read, from a distinguished gentleman who has been a candidate before this Convention. It is as follows:

"Whenever the vote of Ohio will be likely to assure the nomination of Garfield, I appeal to every delegate to vote for him. Let Ohio be solid. Make the same appeal in my name to every delegate."

"JOHN SHERMAN."

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. I want to say, for the Republicans of my section of the country, that there could not have been any selection made that would have pleased them better than that which has been made in the person of James A. Garfield, of Ohio. I want to say further, sir, that, under the conditions under which we were sent to this Convention, sixteen of us stood here for that great military hero, patriot and statesman, Ulysses S. Grant. I would willingly have gone over and supported this nomination before, but I belong to this little Spartan band that stood by Gen. Grant through all these thirty-odd ballots. I desire to add further, that I predict for Gen. Garfield the same victory in November that I have witnessed him achieve over the rebel brigadiers upon the floor of Congress upon numerous occasions. I predict a similar victory for the nominee of this Convention, to that to which, during the whole of the extra session, our leader, in the person of the present candidate, led with the Republican party, backed and sustained by the Executive Department, in the masterly vetoes that crushed out the Democracy of the South.

Mr. HARRISON, of Indiana. *Mr. President:* I am not in very good voice to address the Convention. Indiana has been a little noisy within the last hour, and, though the chairman of this delegation, I forgot myself so much as to abuse my voice. I should not have detained the Convention to add one word to what has been said in a spirit of such commendable harmony over this nomination, if it had not been for the over-partiality of my Grant friends from Kentucky, with whom we have had a good deal of pleasant intercourse.

They insist, sir, that as I am the only defeated candidate for the Presidency on the floor of this Convention [laughter], having received one vote from some misguided friend from Pennsylvania, who, however, unfortunately for me, did not have "staying qualities," and dropped out on the next ballot. [Renewed laughter.]

I want to say to the Ohio delegation that they may carry to their distinguished citizen, who has received the nomination at the hands of this Convention, my ungrudging support. I bear him no malice. [Laughter.] But, Mr. President, I will defer my speech until the campaign is hot, and then, on every stump in Indiana, and wherever else my voice can help this great Republican cause on to victory, I hope to be found.

*THE PRESIDENT.* The question before the Convention is, "Shall the nomination be made unanimous?"



It was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. GARY, of Maryland. I move that we now proceed to finish up the business of this Convention. A great many of us desire to return home on the afternoon trains, and we have only a few hours in which to make our preparations.

The PRESIDENT. A motion to proceed to a ballot for the Vice-President will be in order if made by the gentleman.

Mr. GARY. I make that motion—that we proceed to ballot for Vice-President.

Mr. CASSODAY, of Wisconsin. I second that motion.

Mr. HARRISON, of Indiana. [The hour being 2:30, p. m.] *Mr. President*: I move that this Convention now take a recess until five o'clock. It is a great deal better that an opportunity should be given for some consultation. That is why I make this motion. I appeal to the Convention to take a recess until five o'clock. We can then dispose of this matter in a few minutes.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maryland moves that the Convention do now proceed to make a nomination for Vice-President. Pending that question, the gentleman from Indiana moves that we now take a recess until five o'clock. Is the Convention ready for the question?

Mr. LOGAN. Before the vote is announced, I desire to call the attention of the Chair to one thing. My recollection is that the rule to require the nomination to be made unanimous requires a call of the States. That motion has not been put to the Convention.

Several DELEGATES. Yes, it has.

The PRESIDENT. That motion has been put to the Convention, and unanimously carried.

Mr. LOGAN. I beg pardon of the Chair. I did not observe it.

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. I ask for a call of the States on the motion for a recess.

The PRESIDENT. Is the gentleman authorized by his State to demand a call of States?

Mr. WHITE. I am, sir.

The PRESIDENT. Does any other State second the demand? [After a pause.] No other State seconds the demand.

The motion of Mr. Harrison was agreed to.

So the Convention at two o'clock and twenty-five minutes, p. m., took a recess until five o'clock this afternoon.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The PRESIDENT. [The hour being 5, p. m.] The Convention will come to order.

Mr. GARY, of Maryland. *Mr. President*: I renew my motion that the Convention do now proceed to nominations for Vice-President.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maryland moves that we now proceed to nominations for a candidate for Vice-President. If that motion be adopted, under the rules the States will be called in their order for nominations.

Mr. DORSEY, of Arkansas. I would like to inquire whether the rules provide for placing persons in nomination?

The PRESIDENT. Yes.

Mr. DORSEY. Then, under the rules, a certain time is allowed in making nominations?

The PRESIDENT. Yes. The Chair understands the motion of the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Gary] to be to receive nominations from the various States. If that motion is adopted, nominations will be received under the rule.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The States will, be called in their order for nominations, and when any nomination is suggested by any delegate from any State, he will be entitled to five minutes, under the rule, to present the name. The Clerk will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

#### NOMINATION OF ELIHU B. WASHBURN.

On the call of the State of California.

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I rise for the purpose of placing a man in nomination for the office of Vice-President of the United States, without consultation with the delegation from the State in which he resides, and without consultation with the delegates of the State in which he was born; but only in consultation with and by the desire of my own State—California. In the enthusiasm of the choice that has given us undoubtedly one of the ablest and strongest men of the Nation to head our ticket as candidate for President, I think we ought not to lose sight of the importance of securing an equally able and equally strong man for the second place upon that ticket. The nomination that has been made is undoubtedly one that will commend itself to the best intelligence of the whole Republican party of the United States; and although our delegates did not obtain the eminent gentleman for whom we voted, we go back to our Western shore in confidence, that those three States will back up their political traditions of the last twenty years, and give the electoral vote of California, Nevada and Oregon again to the Republican party. I have had the pleasure of the acquaintance of the gentleman whom I am about to name for a great many years. For sixteen years he was in the Congress of the United States. He made a magnificent record there. He made a record in the direction of questions that are now becoming very prominent before the American people. I had the further pleasure, Mr. President, to meet this gentleman under very trying circumstances, in the city of Paris, when I was abroad. You all know now to whom I refer—it is Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois.

Mr. President, I saw that gentleman, too, at a period when it tested the true dignity and bravery of the American character. I saw him chosen, because he was the Ambassador of the United States, to be the Ambassador of the belligerent German powers. I saw him throw the protecting shield of the American banner over that class of our fellow-citizens that are so largely represented in the United States. I desire to have all that my friend, Mr. Brandegee, of Connecticut, said when he placed Mr. Washburne in nomination for President, to be re-said of him now as candidate for Vice-President; for surely if he was so largely respected and loved by the German people for his dignity of character while in Paris—as a candidate

here for this high office, with the same dignity of character he will command the same respect from the same people, and bring to the party every German vote. I am conscious and certain that in every one of the great cities, whether the Republican party is strong there or weak, the German population will be grateful to this Convention if we shall give them the strongest ticket that can be made for all the people of all the country--James A. Garfield for President and Elihu B. Washburne for Vice-President.

With a single word I shall close. The question of locality is sometimes considered, and I have heard it suggested here. But if the delegates from Ohio nominate their man, and the delegates from Illinois consent to Mr. Washburne, I think the locality will not be considered as being of any importance, or cutting any figure as opposed to the general fact that Mr. Washburne will bring to our ticket that large foreign element that is working with the Republican party, and has done so ever since it has been a party in the United States.

Mr. McCARTHY, of New York. I take pleasure in seconding the nomination made by the gentleman from California. I rise to do so in behalf of a number of the delegates of New York. When I rise to second the nomination, I desire to say that the Republican party has not within the borders of the Union a man whose name is more honored, and who will command more votes from the rank and file of the party than Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois; nor is there a record of any man that we can refer to with more confidence as a legislator, as a man who, in Congress, has been one of the first, and noblest, and stanchest of the defenders and upholders of Republican principles.

When we go out of the United States and follow him upon his mission to Europe, we find that he has there made a mark and an impress on a class of people who form a large portion of the American people, and who are true as steel to us; and to whom is due in part the recognition of this man. We have heard it said that there are certain portions or classes of the Republican party that have been somewhat disaffected with some of the candidates that have been presented to this Convention; but in this man we have one who, in the hour of danger, at the risk of imprisonment and of life, stood up and protected the lives of men who were innocent of any crime and harmless in their character; a man who threw over charitable institutions the American flag and protected them in their rights; a man who has impressed upon the German element of this Nation a popularity that no other man has.

It is with pleasure that I have risen on the part of a number of members of the New York delegation to second his nomination.

#### NOMINATION OF MARSHALL JEWELL.

On the call of the State of Connecticut.

Mr. ROBINSON, of Connecticut. *Mr. President:* We have selected as our candidate for the chief place on our ticket a distinguished soldier-statesman from the West. I desire to submit for the second place on the ticket, as his associate, a sound business man from the East. He needs no introduction to this Convention for his personal character, his Republicanism or his statesmanship. A patriot, known and honored of the Nation; loved by all who are near to him at home; connected with many industrial enterprises in other States, as well as in

his own, Connecticut presents to the Convention, with the hope that you will approve our suggestion, and with the assurance that with that nomination, one doubtful State, at least, will be certain for us, and with the hope that the whole ticket will be strengthened through the country—Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut.

The PRESIDING OFFICER [Mr. Frye, of Maine, in the Chair]. Is there a second? If not, the Clerk will proceed with the call of the roll.

NOMINATION OF THOMAS SETTLE.

On the call of the State of Florida.

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. I am well aware, Mr. President, that it will be in the light of a forlorn hope for the disputed States of the South, and for the solid Republican State of Florida, at this stage of our proceedings, to present a candidate for the high honor of Vice-President of the United States. But, gentlemen of the Convention, in obedience to the instructions of my State, which instructions are in perfect accord and harmony with the desire and disposition of my own heart, I rise to present the name of a distinguished man, not unknown to the members of this Convention, for that high position. We came to this Convention with the hope that our nomination here made would give a guarantee to the whole country that this monstrous solid South should be broken in this campaign. We have been told that we have nothing to give and everything to receive; but, gentlemen, if we have all to receive, all we have under God's heaven we have to give. It is a question of life and death with every Southern Republican to-day, and I stand before you to pronounce this name in a moment, whose nomination will cause a thrill of confidence and hope and satisfaction and purpose in the heart of every man who lives south of Mason and Dixon's line, and to ask you to place him in nomination. I am still confident that we shall not only carry Florida, as we are bound to do, whomever you may place on this ticket as the candidate for Vice-President, with the illustrious name of my honored friend of Ohio for President; but with the name of him I shall present by the side of General Garfield we shall carry North Carolina, we shall contribute largely to the carrying of the State of Alabama, and shall make inroads into Georgia and Louisiana. Everywhere the hope of Southern Republicans will rise in the ascendant, and to its zenith, and every man will feel the cohesive power and unity of our Republicanism. In this nomination I am confident that we shall break the solid South. Gentlemen of the Convention, for now these eighteen years we have been the victims of a fearful monster, embodying in himself all the malice and all the chicanery, all the bloodthirstiness that the human mind can conceive—some fell spirit that has lost his way to his native hell, clad in the habiliments of murder and of discord, stalking over the earth, prowling from State to State, with locks and hands and garments dripping with human gore, setting at defiance the laws of God and man, withering the intellect, blasting the affections, putting the body to the rack, the heart to the torture, and inflicting on men, women and children, without regard to age or sex, the torments of the damned. For what reason? Because they had the courage of their convictions; because they dared to write and speak and vote as Republicans in the elections throughout their States. Thirteen thousand as brave men as ever trod the earth have gone down to

their bloody graves because they dared to stand up for the principles which we have this day enunciated, and which answer for the highest progress and development of which our nature is capable.

Now, the gentleman that I am instructed to present to this Convention was a brave confederate soldier, against his will, against his conscience, and against his judgment. When the war broke out and the issues of treason began to assert themselves, this gentleman opposed those issues. He gave his brain and his labor to their opposition, but when his State went he went with his State. He was among the first to enroll himself among the Republicans of the South at the close of the war. He presided at that great convention, only equaled, if exceeded by the magnificence, by the personnel, by the patriotic character of *this* Convention—I mean the convention that sat in Philadelphia in 1872, and nominated for President that fearless man, the first citizen of the Republic, and the foremost man of the age, Ulysses S. Grant.

You have all read "The Fool's Errand." I am one of the fools. You remember the character of a certain judge in that book of my friend, Judge Tourgee, known in that book as Thomas Denton. This self-same man is the man I propose to put in nomination for your suffrages to-day—not Thomas Denton, but Thomas Settle, of Florida, for Vice-President of these United States.

I will not take up the time of this Convention. I express this hope. I am instructed by my State and other States to present his name. My heart convinces me, gentlemen of the Convention, that you will not throw the South overboard in this fight. In the name of the thirteen thousand dead Republicans—in the name of expatriated citizens of our Southern States—in the name of all the living Republicans that at your command will go to their homes and do and suffer and vote and die for James A. Garfield and the remainder of this ticket—in the name of these—in the name of the South, whose eyes are turned to you to-day, and through you to the good Providence that presides over this country, add to your ticket the name of a man who will inspire every Republican in the South, and smite with awe every bulldozer—Thomas Settle, of Florida.

Mr. HARRIS, of North Carolina. I rise, Mr. President, not for the purpose of making a speech, but to second, in a few brief words, the nomination of Thomas Settle. As a North Carolinian and as a Southern Republican, I say, for every man South of Mason & Dixon's line, that the name of Thomas Settle is enshrined in their hearts, because of the services rendered by him to the Republican party, not only in his native State, but throughout the length and breadth of this broad land. Well do I remember that, in 1868, when the Republican party was organized in the State of North Carolina—in those dark days that tried men's souls, when ostracism, vilification and violence were administered, especially unto every white man who dared to raise his voice in defense of the Union and of the Republican party, and of the equality of all men before the law—in casting about for a leader, Thomas Settle was selected. He then thrust himself to the front, and from that day down to the present he has ever stood in the fore ranks, fighting the battles of the party in its darkest days and under all circumstances.

I tell you, Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention, if you wish to break the backbone of what is called the "solid South," Thomas Settle is the sledge-hammer with which to do it. He is well known to the members of this Convention who were delegates to the Convention that assembled in Philadelphia in 1872. Those of you

who were there will have happy recollections of the dignified manner in which he presided over that Convention. During the dark days of ku-kluxism in North Carolina, at the time when the ku-klux held high carnival all over the South, particularly in North Carolina; when they were whipping and shooting and hanging both white and black Republicans, and when the darkness of the night was illumined with the burning of our school-houses and our churches, Thomas Settle was standing in front and marching on and encouraging the forty thousand white Republicans and the eighty thousand negroes who were not daunted by the thrust of the bowie-knife nor the fire of the pistol, and who carried that State for Grant. With Thomas Settle we will carry it this year for Garfield and Settle. I therefore second the nomination of Thomas Settle.

### On the call of the State of Michigan.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. The Republican State convention of Michigan, with singular unanimity, passed a resolution requesting the delegation from that State in this Convention to present as a candidate for Vice-President the name of its distinguished Senator, Thomas W. Ferry, which the delegation would have been very happy to do; but, sir, I have in my possession a letter from the Senator declining the nomination, and I desire to place the resolution of our State convention and the letter of the Senator in the hands of the Secretary, to be published with the proceedings of this Convention.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is it the pleasure of the Convention that the gentleman have leave to file the letter and resolution, and make them a part of the record?

No objection was heard.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. They will be made a part of the record.

The resolution of the Michigan Republican State convention is as follows:

*"Resolved, That in view of the pure character, strong patriotism and eminent services rendered our State and Nation by Senator Thomas W. Ferry during his long legislative career; both in State and National councils, we hereby respectfully recommend and urge his name to the National Convention as a fit candidate for the nomination for Vice-President by the Republican party."*

The letter of Mr. Ferry is as follows:

"UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER,  
"WASHINGTON, May 29, 1880. }

"Hon. Omar D. Conger:

"MY DEAR SIR: You purpose leaving this evening to attend as one of the delegates chosen from our State to the National Republican Convention, to be held at Chicago on the 2d proximo.

"While expressing my lasting gratitude to Michigan for its choice, unanimously expressed in State convention, that my name should be presented to the Chicago Convention for Vice-President on the Republican ticket of 1880, and grateful as well to the press of the country for approving expressions of such choice, permit me to say, and to enjoin you to say, should my name for such place be suggested to the Convention, that I have not been and am not a candidate therefor, nor would I accept the nomination.

"My choice is to serve as best I may my native State in the Senate of the United States, and be free to give, to the extent of my ability and opportunity, my hearty, zealous support to the nominees of the Chicago Convention.

"Sincerely yours,

T. W. FERRY."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. I am requested to read a telegram which has just been received. It is from the State of Oregon, which has been supposed heretofore to be doubtful:

"PORTLAND, OREGON, June 8, 1880.

"H. W. Scott, at Republican Convention:

"We have carried the State by not less than 1,000 majority. Great enthusiasm over Garfield's nomination.

"GEO. E. COLE."

#### NOMINATION OF HORACE MAYNARD.

On the call of the State of Tennessee.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. *Mr. President:* In obedience to the action of the Tennessee Republican State convention, in obedience to the united voice of every Republican of the State of Tennessee, in obedience to the common sentiment—if not the unanimous sentiment—of the Republicans of the South, as well as in obedience to the demands of the stalwart Republicans of the North, I rise to perform the pleasing duty of placing in nomination for the Vice-Presidency of the United States Hon. Horace Maynard, of—I had nearly said the State of Tennessee, but not that—the Hon. Horace Maynard, of the whole Union. As a *belles-lettres* scholar, as an accomplished gentleman, as all that it takes to adorn a citizen of this great Republic, he has but few equals, and absolutely no superior. Having served sixteen years in the Congress of the United States—having now filled the important trust of Minister to the Turkish Empire for more than six years—his whole public character is absolutely without blemish or stain of any kind whatever; a man, Mr. President, who, when the dark days of the Rebellion swept over the land, stood firm when others failed; a man whose faith never faltered when even the faithful themselves began to doubt; a man who stood courageously by the Union and the Union cause when the enemies assailed the standard of the Union and raised their hands against it; a man who is capable not only of adorning the Vice-Presidency of the United States, but capable of adorning any position to which the American people might see proper to call him. I desire in the name of the loyal Republican Union sentiment of the South to place him in nomination, and I ask this Convention to select him as the standard-bearer of the Republican party in connection with the distinguished gentleman who has been placed at the head of the ticket.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a second? If not, the Clerk will proceed with the roll.

#### NOMINATION OF CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

Mr. WOODFORD, of New York. *Mr. President:* Although my State has been passed on the call, may I have the consent of the Convention to present a name from the State of New York?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent—after his State has been passed—to present a

name. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. The gentleman will proceed.

Mr. WOODFORD. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The great majority of the delegates from New York came here with loyal heart and earnest purpose to present for the Presidency the name of Gen. Grant. This Convention has decided to nominate the distinguished statesman of Ohio. New York will be behind no State in the Union in earnest, loyal, effective support of the ticket that you nominate to-day. In behalf of a large number of the New York delegation, I desire to present the name of one of our most distinguished citizens, upon whose private character there is no stain of reproach, and who, I am sure, will add great strength to the ticket in the State of New York; and that is the name of my valued friend, a true man, a true gentleman, Chester A. Arthur, of New York.

Mr. DENNISON, of Ohio. *Mr. President:* On behalf of the majority of the delegates from Ohio, I rise to second the nomination of Gen. Arthur as a candidate for Vice-President. I may say, sir, that after a personal acquaintance with that distinguished gentleman for many years, it gives me the very highest satisfaction to express the most hearty concurrence on behalf of the delegates of Ohio in all that has been said by the distinguished gentleman from New York who has presented his name. I desire, Mr. President; to see the Republican party of this nation a compact, united, vigorous and triumphant party, and I know no better way to accomplish that grand result than by putting on the ticket, with Gen. Garfield as the head, Gen. Arthur, or a man of his character as a Republican, for Vice-President. With the ticket of Garfield and Arthur, Ohio will give to the Republican party not less than 30,000 majority, and fourteen members of Congress. Now, sir, while on my feet, though it is not strictly germane to the occasion, I trust I may have the pardon of this Convention when, on behalf of the delegates from Ohio, and of the Republican party of Ohio, I return their thanks to this Convention for the nomination of Gen. Garfield to the Presidency of the United States. I want to say, Mr. President, that after an acquaintance with that distinguished gentleman for more than twenty years, I rejoice in him as having all the essentials of character, moral and political, eminently fitting him for the high position of Chief Magistrate of the Nation; and the telegrams I have received from my State, and telegrams received by other delegates from Ohio, only confirm what I anticipated—that there is but one opinion in Ohio in regard to that nomination, and that is that no better nomination could be made by this Republican Convention assembled in Chicago.

I repeat, sir, begging the pardon of yourself and of the Convention for what I have said beyond the immediate object of my rising, that I second, on behalf of a majority of the delegates of Ohio, the nomination of Gen. Arthur for Vice-President of the Republic.

Mr. KILPATRICK, of New Jersey. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I intend to occupy the attention of the Convention for a moment only. At half past two o'clock to-day, after one of the most severe conflicts ever witnessed in a Republican convention, Ohio's great soldier and statesman was placed in nomination for President of the United States. New York, Illinois and Pennsylvania asked for a soldier, the most distinguished that ever trod the American continent. This Convention, although it refused them their request, gave to them a soldier, though not as distinguished as Gen. Grant, yet nevertheless a soldier whose war-horse snuffed not



the conflict from afar, but filled his nostrils with the red smoke of battle—a soldier who was chief-of-staff to Gen. Rosecrans, and aide-camp to George H. Thomas, the Rock of Chicamauga. Maine asked for a statesman and an orator. We give them a statesman and an orator in every respect equal to the Senator from Maine. Many States, including the State of Ohio, asked for a financier—asked for the great commoner, who, in season and out of season, worked for the welfare of the American people, to whom they owe a debt of gratitude they can never repay. We give to them a statesman and citizen, in honor, in integrity, from sole to scalp, equal to John Sherman, of Ohio.

Now the state of New York presents to you the name of one of her most distinguished citizens, the chairman, gentlemen of the Convention, of the State committee of New York, upon which State we must rely in this contest. They ask of you that you place him in nomination, guaranteeing to give to this ticket the State of New York in November. You cannot, you dare not, turn your backs upon him. You must not do it. With James A. Garfield at the head of the ticket, and Chester A. Arthur as its second name, you will have two candidates that you can place upon the mountain peaks and the hill tops, and no dart can break a bolt or loosen a rivet of the invulnerable armor of truth and honor with which they have enveloped themselves. We can go down upon the battle plain and meet the enemy upon his own ground and there vanquish him. Aye, more, you will have a President and Vice-President who in their right hands will carry peace. They will be just and fear not, while the ends they aim at will be their country's, their God's, their truth's. In the name of a portion of the delegation of New Jersey, along with my valuable friend from Ohio, I second, with all my heart, the nomination of Chester A. Arthur, of New York, as Vice-President.

Mr. STORRS, of Illinois. On behalf of the majority of the Republican delegates from the State of Illinois, it is my duty, as it is my extreme pleasure, to second the nomination just made for the Vice-Presidency, of Hon. Chester A. Arthur, of the State of New York. I believe that every dictate of political wisdom and political prudence looks in that direction. I believe that the "old guard," which stood through thirty-six ballots 806, whose line never wavered, in whose ranks there was never a shrinking man, in whose solid front there was never a desertion—I believe that this old guard, that has carried in the past and will carry in the future the flag of the party to triumph, wishes and prays for the nomination of Chester A. Arthur. I know that these stalwart Republicans, representing hundreds of thousands of Republicans throughout the Union, are as firmly resolved that Garfield shall be elected President as if the modest man, the great statesman, the silent soldier had received the nomination of this Convention. We have suffered no defeat; nothing could have defeated nor dismayed us but a wavering of the line, and the line never wavered. With our banners still flying, members of the same army, inspired by the same elevated purpose, animated by the same patriotic spirit, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, joining hands together, will carry the flag through to a triumph as splendid as the party ever achieved. I know I speak in behalf of those who have always been Republicans; I know I speak in behalf of those who are now Republicans; I know I speak in behalf of those who always will be Republicans; I know I speak in behalf of the friends of the great silent soldier, when I second the nomination of Chester A. Arthur, of New York.

Mr. LYNCH, of Mississippi. I desire to say, sir, that when we came to this Convention it was the intention of the delegates from Mississippi and a number of the other Southern States, as well as the Northern States, to present, for the consideration of this Convention, the name of Mississippi's distinguished son and able Senator, B. K. Bruce. Recognizing the fact, as we do, that hearty harmony and hearty unity are essential to success, instead of asking this Convention to do themselves honor in placing this gentleman upon the ticket, it is the wish of that gentleman and his friends that we heartily, cheerfully and willingly concur in all that has been said in behalf of New York's choice.

It has been said, Mr. President, and I regret that the assertion cannot be truthfully denied, that the South, in the coming election, will be solidly Democratic. Nevertheless, we feel that it is the duty of the Republican party of the Nation to make the cause of the Southern Republicans the cause of the National party. Feeling as we do, although the man who is the choice of a majority of Southern Republicans was not the choice of this Convention, yet we will go home with loyal hearts and unmistakable determination to do all in our power to bring success to our party and its nominee. We hope that New York's choice will be ratified by this Convention, as we are determined to ratify the ticket in November.

Mr. HARRIS, of Maryland. On behalf of a delegation that proposes to cast its solid vote for the distinguished gentleman from New York, who has now been placed in nomination for the Vice-Presidency, and, at the request of many gentlemen around me, I desire, with great heartiness, to second that nomination. I do not need, sir, in addition to what we all know of the character and career of that gentleman, to hear more than I have heard from members upon this floor of his peculiar fitness, both politically and personally, for that high office. I only wish, sir, that, while saying that Maryland will give to him her solid vote for the nomination, I also could say that the Republican party of Maryland would give, in November, both to him and the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, who will be with him on the ticket, a solid Republican vote, or a vote of a majority of the State. Unfortunately, sir, I am not able to say that yet; but we shall go to our homes in Maryland, confronted as we are to-day by a powerful Democratic majority, with our hearts inspirited with the highest courage and full of most brilliant hope. We shall go there, sir, knowing that we will be able to fight an aggressive and a successful canvass—and success with us means the beginning of a revolution in that State. Therefore, we Republicans of Maryland extend to this Convention our heartiest thanks that they give us, in the distinguished nominations made and to be made, the best opportunity of beginning a great revolution in that State, which, we trust, not long hence will place it in the hands of the Republican party of the Union. I second, sir, for another reason, this nomination with pleasure. Many of us of Maryland, in this delegation, have voted throughout the sessions of this Convention against a gentleman with whom, for many reasons, we would have been happy to be in personal conference; but our convictions of the necessities of the occasion have governed us throughout our respective votes, and I am now glad to have our delegation concur in the choice of the gentlemen who have not, in other respects, succeeded in all their wishes. I therefore second very heartily the nomination of Mr. Arthur.

**Mr. FILLEY**, of Missouri. *Mr. President:* The delegation from Missouri desire me to say to the Convention that they think it is most fitting for this Convention at this time to second the nomination and carry through this Convention by acclamation the name of Hon. Chester A. Arthur, of New York, and the delegation authorize me to say that Missouri will give her thirty votes to him.

#### NOMINATION OF EDMUND J. DAVIS.

#### On the call of the State of Texas.

**Mr. CHAMBERS**, of Texas. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The State of Texas presents as her candidate for the Vice-Presidency ex-Gov. Edmund J. Davis. There are times in the history of a people and in the history of individuals that try men's souls. In 1861, when a political frenzy swept over the country from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, overturning State governments, overturning the government of the State of Texas and removing from office the hero of San Jacinto, Gen. Davis, whose name is presented from Texas, was a Judge of one of the courts of the State. He was born in Florida. At early manhood he went to Texas. By his talents and abilities he was soon elevated to the Judiciary, and when this revolution came upon the country Gov. Davis, defying the ordinance of secession, refusing to recognize the revolution, fled from his country, his home, his family, all, to join the Union armies of the Nation. As long as that banner floated he fought under it. As long as the Union cause demanded the services of her sons, whether Northern or Southern, he stood by the side of that cause, led his comrades to victory under the commission of General in the Union army, and never sheathed that sword until the Union was restored, freedom given to all, and Grant made immortal. When the war ended he returned to his home. In 1869 he was the president of the convention that gave to Texas her only Republican constitution—the only constitution that gave universal freedom to all its people. In 1869 he was elected the Governor of that State. Under his administration peace was restored, prosperity increased, railroads were built, free public schools established, the laws vindicated; the people from all parts of the United States came to Texas, and the result was that a degree of prosperity, of happiness, of protection existed during his administration, which the people of that State have never enjoyed since reconstruction, I regret to say. A few years hence the voice of Texas in the councils of the country, as well as in your National Convention, will be second upon the list—second in numbers, second in political importance. She now has enough people to send sixteen members to Congress after the next census. In the course of a few years more she will have upon the floor of that body as many members of Congress as the largest of the States. Texas represents in extent a country extending from the eastern limits of Ohio to the shores of the State of Maine. She has a territory almost equal to the territory of all the States that seceded from the Union. Gentlemen of the Convention, it is true that Texas cannot promise you any electoral votes. But do you not remember how, four years ago, it required not only all the strength that the Republican party of the Northern States could bring to the polls, but it required the votes of three States of the South to enable you to elect the present President of the United States? Can you get along without the vote of the South? Are you willing to go into the next Presidential

contest without the assistance of the South? Do you not know that you must not only carry every State that you carried North at the last election, but that you must carry some more Northern States that you did not carry then, if you leave the South to herself? And what State North can you depend upon? What States North are you sure of, beyond those which you carried at the last Presidential election? Why not meet us half-way?

Why not show that you have brotherhood for a fellow-people? Why not recognize us as a part of this Government, as a part of this Union, and say, "Come, and we will give you one part of this Government?"

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. Having discharged our duty and offered our candidate, after consultation with other States which are in harmony with us, and yielding, as we deem it our duty and high privilege to do, to the great States of New York, Illinois and Ohio—for, sir, we belong to that "old guard"—and with the consent of those who have seconded the nomination, I now withdraw the name of Judge Settle and substitute therefor the name of Chester A. Arthur, of New York.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. I do not rise to make a speech on this occasion, but simply to say that once more Pennsylvania votes as a unit. We second the name of the gentleman from New York as the nominee for the Vice-Presidency.

Mr. HARRIS, of North Carolina. As one who seconded the nomination of Hon. Thomas Settle, I know that I act in accord with his wishes, and holding the success of the Republican party paramount to all other considerations, I now beg to concur in the withdrawal of his name as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency in favor of General Arthur, of New York. One word and I have done. All I want to say is that we of North Carolina shall give the ticket 15,000 majority, and that, being "tar-heels," we shall stick. [Laughter.]

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. I want to say one word. The State of Kentucky believed that General U. S. Grant was the strongest man in the Republican party, and we have done all we could to secure his nomination. But, sir, this Convention has seen fit to select another man, and we give to him our most hearty support. Now, Kentucky says that in this matter of a Vice-President she is a unit in favor of the gentleman proposed by the great State of New York.

Mr. MCCARTHY, of New York. As I discover a disposition here for peace, and harmony, and good-will, I withdraw the second I gave for Mr. Washburne, and move the unanimous vote of this body in favor of Chester A. Arthur, of New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There must be a full call of the roll of States on this nomination, under the rules, and the motion of the gentleman is therefore not in order.

Mr. CUNNEY, of Texas. *Mr. President:* I intended to rise for the purpose of seconding the nomination of Governor Davis, of Texas, for the Vice-Presidency, but inasmuch as I see a disposition on the part of gentlemen on the floor of this Convention to withdraw the names of the various candidates now before the Convention, Texas desires to say that while she feels confident that there has been no name presented to this Convention more worthy of the confidence of the Republican party of this country than that of the eminent statesman, our fellow-citizen, ex-Governor Davis, I now, at the

request of the delegates from Texas, withdraw the name of Governor Davis.

**THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENTION.** The Chair thinks it worth while, as he supposes the Convention is desirous of saving time, to make known to gentlemen that, under the rules, it is in order to move a suspension of the rules and make any nomination which shall be embraced in that motion, and by a two-thirds vote it would be carried.

**MR. BUCKNER, of Missouri.** *Mr. President:* I move to suspend the rule, and that the nomination of Chester A. Arthur, of New York, be made by acclamation.

**THE PRESIDENT.** That motion is in order. It is moved by the gentleman from Missouri that the rule be suspended and Chester A. Arthur be nominated for Vice-President by acclamation.

**MR. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia.** I rise to a point of order. The States have not all been called on the subject of Vice-Presidential nominations.

The motion to suspend the rule was not agreed to.

**THE PRESIDENT.** The motion was in order to suspend the rule, but it was lost. The Secretary will proceed with the roll.

On the call of the State of West Virginia.

**MR. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia.** *Mr. President:* The State convention of West Virginia, which met in the city of Wheeling on the twelfth of May, and commissioned its delegation to represent the party of that State in this Convention, directed us to present to this Convention the name of a distinguished citizen of that State. It had been my intention, Mr. President, to do so, but I know that, in the language of our distinguished Chief Magistrate, he who serves his country best serves his party best. Therefore, sir, I withhold the name of that distinguished citizen—a man known throughout every square mile of our territory, whose name is “familiar as a household word,” who was a gallant soldier in the war, who was known for his high bravery in the field, who has been tendered high office under the Government of the United States, but has declined to accept it—the name of General Goff, of West Virginia. And in conformity with the wishes of this delegation, and, I know, in conformity with the wishes of General Goff himself, I rise, sir, on behalf of the delegation from West Virginia, to second the nomination of Elihu B. Washburne. This gentleman of whom I have spoken, whose name we had expected to present, is the idol of all our hearts in West Virginia. He is our Henry Clay. But, sir, we are willing to forego the pleasure which we would have as a matter of State pride in presenting his name here, and to urge the name of Mr. Washburne, because the people thought it would strengthen us, not only in West Virginia, but, what is far more important, in the great States of the North. Mr. President, let us not do any rash thing in this Convention. We have passed a series of resolutions, and one of them points directly at the maintenance of civil-service reform. Let us not stultify ourselves before the country. In the language of the distinguished man whom we have nominated this day for the Presidency, we must remember that the people will pass upon these nominations in the calm of their firesides at home. And speaking of that other distinguished man, Elihu B. Washburne, who has such a

glorious record as member of Congress and as our Minister in a foreign land, and towards whom the hearts of a million adopted citizens of this country turn, as they do not turn towards any other man, from what I have seen and heard, not only in this city, but elsewhere, I am satisfied that his name is good for 100,000 German-Democratic votes. Therefore, Mr. President, desiring above all things the success of the Republican party in this critical period of its history, and in behalf of the delegates from the State of West Virginia, I most cordially second the nomination of Elihu B. Washburne, and hope it will be the pleasure of this Convention to nominate him. [Demonstrations of applause in the galleries.]

At the conclusion of the roll-call.

Mr. CARTER, of Virginia. The State of Virginia having been called while my attention was directed to some other matters, it gives me pleasure to say that the delegation from Virginia will, with entire unanimity, indorse the nomination of the distinguished gentleman from New York.

Mr. DORSEY, of Arkansas. There are some delegates here who desire to get through with their business this afternoon, in order to leave to-night. If the galleries shall continue, as they have for the last week, to interfere with the proper discharge of our duties, I shall move to have the galleries cleared. I now move that if there is any further disorder in the galleries they be cleared.

The PRESIDENT. The motion is in order.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. What is now the pleasure of the Convention?

Mr. MCBETH, of Missouri. I move that we proceed to take a ballot for Vice-President, by a call of States.

The motion was agreed to.

The roll of States was then called and resulted:

Total number of votes cast 751. [Necessary to a choice, 376.]

Of which—

Chester A. Arthur, of New York, received 468; Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, 193; Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut, 44; Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, 30; Blanche K. Bruce, of Mississippi, 8; James L. Alcorn, of Mississippi, 4; Edmund J. Davis, of Texas, 2; Thomas Settle, of Florida, 1; Stewart L. Woodford, of New York, 1— as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Arthur.	Washburne.	Jewell.	Woodford.	Maynard.	Settle.	Bruce.	Davis.	Alcorn.
Alabama.....	20	18	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Indiana.....	30	5	11	5	1	4	1	2	.....	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	2	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	2	22	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Michigan.....	22	6	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	8	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	11	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Missouri.....	30	30	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	3	8	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	3	14	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New York.....	70	69	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	20	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	42	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	47	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	24	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	9	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	4	5	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	19	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	2	16	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dist. of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	468	198	44	1	30	1	8	2	4

The PRESIDING OFFICER. [Mr. Frye, of Maine, in the Chair.] The Hon. Chester A. Arthur is nominated as a candidate for Vice-President, and the question now before the Convention is, shall that nomination be made unanimous?

Mr. McBETH, of Missouri. I move that the nomination be made unanimous.

Mr. HAYMOND, of California. The nomination is one that will be eminently satisfactory to the country, and as the delegation from California have had another choice, it is but right and proper for California to second the motion to make that nomination unanimous.

It was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. KILPATRICK, of New Jersey. *Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of this Convention:* I move you that a vote of thanks be tendered by this Convention to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts who has so impartially and so ably presided over the deliberations of this Convention.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. I was about to rise for the purpose of making the same motion.

Mr. BICKHAM, of Ohio. I present a resolution as an amendment to the gentleman's motion, and hand it up to the Secretary to be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

"Resolved, That this Convention tenders its grateful thanks to its very able President and its accomplished Secretaries and courteous officers generally, for the happy and satisfactory discharge of their onerous and responsible duties, and that we also thank the citizens of Chicago for their courteous and generous hospitality."

Mr. KILPATRICK. I accept the amendment.

The motion as amended was agreed to.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. *Mr. President:* I offer the following resolution, and ask the Secretary to read it.

The Secretary read as follows:

"Resolved, That a committee, consisting of one delegate from each State, of which the President of this Convention shall be chairman, be appointed to notify the Hon. James A. Garfield, of Ohio, of his unanimous nomination by this Convention as the candidate of the Republican party for the office of President of these United States; and also to notify the Hon. Chester A. Arthur, of New York, of his unanimous nomination as its candidate for Vice-President.

The resolution was adopted.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to call the attention of the Convention to the fact that no mode is prescribed in the resolution itself for the appointment of the committee.

Several DELEGATES. By the Chair.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. I move that it be left to each delegation to appoint its member on the call of the roll.

The motion was not agreed to.



Mr. McBeth, of Missouri. I move that the committee be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will take leave to follow the precedent of the last National Convention and select the committee this evening, at his room, after the adjournment, if no objection is made. He will take measures to have public notice given at all the hotels of the names of the committee. Is there any other business before the Convention?

Mr. McBeth. I move that this Convention do now adjourn.

The CHAIR. The gentleman from Missouri moves that the Convention now adjourn. Before putting the motion, the Chair desires to express to the Convention his grateful sense of the patience and forbearance with which it has sustained him in the discharge of his duty.

The motion was agreed to.

So the Convention, at seven o'clock and twenty-five minutes, p. m., adjourned *sine die*.

#### COMMITTEE OF NOTIFICATION.

Upon the adjournment of the Convention, the President appointed the following named gentlemen as the Committee charged with the duty of notifying Gen. Garfield and Gen. Arthur of their respective nominations:

GEORGE F. HOAR, *Massachusetts, Chairman.*  
 Alabama.....Willard Warner.  
 Arkansas.....M. W. Gibbs.  
 California.....Creed Haymond.  
 Colorado.....John L. Routt.  
 Connecticut.....H. B. Bigelow.  
 Delaware.....James R. Lofland.  
 Florida.....Sherman Conant.  
 Georgia.....J. F. Long.  
 Illinois.....John A. Logan.  
 Indiana.....Ben. Harrison.  
 Iowa.....Robert M. Haynes.  
 Kansas.....P. B. Plumb.  
 Kentucky.....John D. White.  
 Louisiana.....William Pitt Kellogg.  
 Maine.....Eugene Hale.  
 Maryland.....J. A. J. Creswell.  
 Massachusetts.....W. S. B. Hopkins.  
 Michigan.....Omar D. Conger.  
 Minnesota.....A. C. Wedge.  
 Mississippi.....George C. McKee.  
 Missouri.....Robert T. Vanhorn.

Nebraska.....	Lorenzo Crounse.
Nevada.....	M. D. Foley.
New Hampshire.....	Benjamin F. Prescott.
New Jersey.....	Judson Kilpatrick.
New York.....	William H. Robertson.
North Carolina.....	Stewart Ellison.
Ohio.....	Charles Foster.
Oregon.....	John H. Mitchell.
Pennsylvania.....	John Cessna.
Rhode Island.....	John P. Sanborn.
South Carolina.....	R. B. Elliott.
Tennessee.....	A. M. Hughes, Jr.
Texas.....	E. J. Davis.
Vermont.....	Frederick Billings.
Virginia.....	Joseph Jorgenson.
West Virginia.....	A. W. Campbell.
Wisconsin.....	Philetus Sawyer.

CHARLES W. CLISBEE, Michigan, *Secretary*.

At eleven o'clock, p. m., the Committee assembled in the Club Room of the Grand Pacific Hotel, and appointed Messrs. O. D. Conger, of Michigan, and A. C. Wedge, of Minnesota, a sub-committee, to conduct Gen. Garfield and Gen. Arthur to the room. Upon the appearance of the latter gentlemen, the Chairman of the Committee of Notification, Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, addressed Gen. Garfield as follows:

*General Garfield:* The gentlemen present are a committee, appointed by the National Republican Convention, representatives of every State in the Union, who have been directed to convey to you the formal ceremonial notice of your nomination as Republican candidate for the office of President of the United States. It is known to you that the Convention which has made its nomination assembled divided in opinion and in counsel, in regard to their candidate. It cannot be known to you with what unanimity of pleasure all parties in that Convention have received the result which it has reached. You represent not only the distinctive principles and opinions of the Republican party, you represent also its unity; and in the name of every State in the Union, represented on this committee, I convey to you the assurance of the cordial support of the Republican party of these States in the coming election.

To which Gen. Garfield replied as follows:

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:* I assure you that the information you have officially given to me brings the sense of a very grave responsibility, and especially so in view of the fact that I was a member of your body—a fact that could not have existed with propriety had I the slightest expectation that my name would be connected with the nomination for the office. I have felt, with you, great solicitude concerning the situation of our party during the struggle; but, believing that you are correct in assuring me that substantial unity has been reached in the conclusion, it gives me a gratification far greater than any personal pleasure your announcement can bring. I accept

the trust committed to my hands. As to the work of our party, as to the character of the campaign to be entered upon, I will take an early occasion to reply more fully than I can properly do to-night. I thank you for the assurances of confidence and esteem and unity which you have presented to me, and shall hope we shall see our future as promising as are the indications to-night.

The Chairman then addressed Gen. Arthur as follows:

*Gen. Arthur:* I am, as the organ of a committee of Republicans from every State in the Union, created by the National Republican Convention which closed its labors here to-day, directed to ask your acceptance of the nomination for the office of Vice-President of the United States. The Convention, in making this nomination, have desired to testify their regard for the great State of which you have been so long a well-known and honored citizen, and their regard for the opinions and wishes of a portion of the Convention whose earnest preferences for the office of President has been disappointed. They are confident that no division of opinion can create permanent estrangement where the interests of the great Republican party are concerned.

To which Gen. Arthur replied:

I am deeply sensible, Mr. Chairman, of the honor conferred upon me. I accept the nomination, and shall endeavor, if elected, to discharge its duties faithfully and conscientiously, and to the best of my ability. I will reply more formally at some future time.

---

The following is the formal letter of acceptance written by Gen. Garfield to the President of the Convention:

MENTOR, OHIO, July 10th, 1880.

DEAR SIR: On the evening of the 8th of June last I had the honor to receive from you, in the presence of the committee of which you were chairman, the official announcement that the Republican National Convention at Chicago had that day nominated me as their candidate for President of the United States. I accept the nomination, with gratitude for the confidence it implies, and with a deep sense of the responsibilities it imposes. I cordially indorse the principles set forth in the platform adopted by the Convention. On nearly all the subjects of which it treats, my opinions are on record among the published proceedings of Congress. I venture, however, to make special mention of some of the principal topics which are likely to become subjects of discussion.

Without reviewing the controversies which have been settled during the last twenty years, and with no purpose or wish to revive the passions of the late war, it should be said that while the Republicans fully recognize and will strenuously defend all the rights retained by the people, and all the rights reserved to the States, they reject the pernicious doctrine of State supremacy which so long

crippled the functions of the National Government, and, at one time, brought the Union very near to destruction. They insist that the United States is a nation, with ample power of self-preservation; that its Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land; that the right of the Nation to determine the method by which its own Legislature shall be created cannot be surrendered without abdicating one of the fundamental powers of government; that the national laws relating to the election of representatives in Congress shall neither be violated nor evaded; that every elector shall be permitted, freely and without intimidation, to cast his lawful ballot at such election and have it honestly counted, and that the potency of his vote shall not be destroyed by the fraudulent vote of any other person. The best thoughts and energies of our people should be directed to those great questions of national well-being in which all have a common interest. Such efforts will soon restore to perfect peace those who were lately in arms against each other; for justice and good-will will out-last passion. But it is certain that the wounds of the war cannot be completely healed, and the spirit of brotherhood cannot fully pervade the whole country, until every citizen, rich or poor, white or black, is secure in the free and equal enjoyment of every civil and political right guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws. Wherever the enjoyment of these rights is not assured, discontent will prevail, immigration will cease, and the social and industrial forces will continue to be disturbed by the migration of laborers and the consequent diminution of prosperity. The National Government should exercise all its constitutional authority to put an end to these evils; for all the people and all the States are members of one body, and no member can suffer without injury to all.

The most serious evils which now afflict the South arise from the fact that there is not such freedom and toleration of political opinion and action that the minority party can exercise an effective and wholesome restraint upon the party in power. Without such restraint, party rule becomes tyrannical and corrupt. The prosperity which is made possible in the South by its great advantages of soil and climate will never be realized until every voter can freely and safely support any party he pleases.

Next in importance to freedom and justice, is popular education, without which neither justice nor freedom can be permanently maintained. Its interests are intrusted to the States, and to the voluntary action of the people. Whatever help the Nation can justly afford should be generously given to aid the States in supporting common schools; but it would be unjust to our people and dangerous to our institutions to apply any portion of the revenues of the Nation or of the States to the support of sectarian schools. The separation of the Church and the State in everything relating to taxation should be absolute.

On the subject of national finances my views have been so frequently and fully expressed that little is needed in the way of additional statement. The public debt is now so well secured, and the rate of annual interest has been so reduced by refunding, that rigid economy in expenditures and the faithful application of our surplus revenues to the payment of the principal of the debt will gradually but certainly free the people from its burdens, and close with honor the financial chapter of the war.

At the same time, the Government can provide for all its ordinary expenditures, and discharge its sacred obligations to the soldiers of

the Union, and to the widows and orphans of those who fell in its defense. The resumption of specie payments, which the Republican party so courageously and successfully accomplished, has removed from the field of controversy many questions that long and seriously disturbed the credit of the Government and the business of the country. Our paper currency is now as national as the flag, and resumption has not only made it everywhere equal to coin, but has brought into use our store of gold and silver. The circulating medium is more abundant than ever before; and we need only to maintain the equality of all our dollars to insure to labor and capital a measure of value from the use of which no one can suffer loss. The great prosperity which the country is now enjoying should not be endangered by any violent changes or doubtful financial experiments.

In reference to our customs laws, a policy should be pursued which will bring revenue to the Treasury, and will enable the labor and capital employed in our great industries to compete fairly in our own markets with the labor and capital of foreign producers. We legislate for the people of the United States, not for the whole world; and it is our glory that the American laborer is more intelligent and better paid than his foreign competitor. Our country cannot be independent unless its people, with their abundant natural resources, possess the requisite skill, at any time, to clothe, arm and equip themselves for war, and in time of peace to produce all the necessary implements of labor. It was the manifest intention of the founders of the Government to provide for the common defense, not by standing armies alone, but by raising among the people a greater army of artisans, whose intelligence and skill should powerfully contribute to the safety and glory of the Nation.

Fortunately for the interests of commerce, there is no longer any formidable opposition to appropriations for the improvement of our harbors and great navigable rivers, provided that the expenditures for that purpose are strictly limited to works of national importance. The Mississippi river, with its great tributaries, is of such vital importance to so many millions of people that the safety of its navigation requires exceptional consideration. In order to secure to the Nation the control of all its waters, President Jefferson negotiated the purchase of a vast territory, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific ocean. The wisdom of Congress should be invoked to devise some plan by which that great river shall cease to be a terror to those who dwell upon its banks, and by which its shipping may safely carry the industrial products of 25,000,000 of people. The interests of agriculture, which is the basis of all our material prosperity, and in which seven-twelfths of our population are engaged, as well as the interests of manufactures and commerce, demand that the facilities for cheap transportation shall be increased by the use of all our great water-courses.

The material interests of this country, the traditions of its settlement and the sentiment of our people have led the Government to offer the widest hospitality to emigrants who seek our shores for new and happier homes, willing to share the burdens as well as the benefits of our society, and intending that their posterity shall become an undistinguishable part of our population. The recent movement of the Chinese to our Pacific coast partakes but little of the qualities of such an immigration, either in its purposes or its result. It is too much like an importation, to be welcomed without restrictions; too much like an invasion, to be looked upon without

solicitude. We cannot consent to allow any form of servile labor to be introduced among us under the guise of immigration. Recognizing the gravity of this subject, the present Administration, supported by Congress, has sent to China a commission of distinguished citizens for the purpose of securing such a modification of the existing treaty as will prevent the evils likely to arise from the present situation. It is confidently believed that these diplomatic negotiations will be successful without the loss of commercial intercourse between the two powers, which promises a great increase of reciprocal trade and the enlargement of our markets. Should these efforts fail, it will be the duty of Congress to mitigate the evils already felt and prevent their increase by such restrictions as, without violence or injustice, will place upon a sure foundation the peace of our communities and the freedom and dignity of labor.

The appointment of citizens to the various executive and judicial offices of the Government is, perhaps, the most difficult of all duties which the Constitution has imposed on the Executive. The Convention wisely demands that Congress shall co-operate with the Executive department in placing the civil service on a better basis. Experience has proved that, with our frequent changes of administration, no system of reform can be made effective and permanent without the aid of legislation. Appointments to the military and naval service are so regulated by law and custom as to leave but little ground for complaint. It may not be wise to make similar regulations by law for the civil service. But, without invading the authority or necessary discretion of the Executive, Congress should devise a method that will determine the tenure of office and greatly reduce the uncertainty which makes that service so uncertain and unsatisfactory. Without depriving any officer of his rights as a citizen, the Government should require him to discharge all his official duties with intelligence, efficiency and faithfulness. To select wisely from our vast population those who are best fitted for the many offices to be filled requires an acquaintance far beyond the range of any one man. The Executive should, therefore, seek and receive the information and assistance of those whose knowledge of the communities in which the duties are to be performed best qualifies them to aid in making the wisest choice.

The doctrines announced by the Chicago Convention are not the temporary devices of a party to attract votes and carry an election; they are deliberate convictions, resulting from a careful study of the spirit of our institutions, the events of our history, and the best impulses of our people. In my judgment, these principles should control the legislation and administration of the Government. In any event, they will guide my conduct until experience points out a better way.

If elected, it will be my purpose to enforce strict obedience to the Constitution and the laws, and to promote, as best I may, the interest and honor of the whole country, relying for support upon the wisdom of Congress, the intelligence and patriotism of the people, and the favor of God.

With great respect, I am very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

To the HON. GEORGE F. HOAR,  
*Chairman of the Committee.*

Gen. Arthur's letter of acceptance is as follows:

NEW YORK, July 15, 1880.

DEAR SIR: I accept the position assigned me by the great party whose action you announce. This acceptance implies approval of the principles declared by the Convention, but recent usage permits me to add some expression of my own views.

The right and duty to secure honesty and order in popular elections is a matter so vital that it must stand in front. The authority of the National Government to preserve from fraud and force elections at which its own officers are chosen is a chief point on which the two parties are plainly and intensely opposed. Acts of Congress for ten years have, in New York and elsewhere, done much to curb the violence and wrong to which the ballot and the count have been again and again subjected—sometimes despoiling great cities, sometimes stifling the voice of a whole State, often seating, not only in Congress but on the Bench and in Legislatures, numbers of men never chosen by the people. The Democratic party, since gaining possession of the two Houses of Congress, has made these just laws the object of bitter, ceaseless assault, and, despite all resistance, has hedged them with restrictions cunningly contrived to baffle and paralyze them. This aggressive majority boldly attempted to extort from the Executive his approval of various enactments destructive of these election laws, by revolutionary threats that a constitutional exercise of the veto power would be punished by withholding the appropriations necessary to carry on the Government. And these threats were actually carried out by refusing the needed appropriations, and by forcing an extra session of Congress, lasting for months and resulting in concessions to this usurping demand, which are likely, in many States, to subject the majority to the lawless will of a minority.

Ominous signs of public disapproval alone subdued this arrogant power into a sullen surrender for the time being of a part of its demands. The Republican party has strongly approved the stern refusal of its representatives to suffer the overthrow of statutes believed to be salutary and just. It has always insisted, and now insists, that the Government of the United States of America is empowered and in duty bound to effectually protect the elections denoted by the Constitution as National.

More than this, the Republican party holds, as a cardinal point in its creed, that the Government should, by every means known to the Constitution, protect all American citizens everywhere in the full enjoyment of their civil and political rights. As a great part of its work of reconstruction the Republican party gave the ballot to the emancipated slave as his right and defense. A large increase in the number of members of Congress and of the Electoral College from the former slaveholding States was the immediate result. The history of recent years abounds in evidence that in many ways and in many places—especially where their number has been great enough to endanger Democratic control—the very men by whose elevation to citizenship this increase of representation was effected have been debarrd and robbed of their voice and their vote. It is true that no State statute or constitution in so many words denies or abridges the exercise of their political rights, but the modes employed to bar their way are no less effectual. It is a suggestive and startling thought that the increased power derived from the enfranchisement

of a race now denied its share in governing the country, wielded by those who lately sought the overthrow of the Government, is now the sole reliance to defeat the party which represented the sovereignty and nationality of the American people in the greatest crisis in our history. Republicans cherish none of the resentments which may have animated them during the actual conflict of arms. They long for a full and real reconciliation between the sections which were needlessly and lamentably at strife. They sincerely offer the hand of good-will, but they ask in return a pledge of good faith. They deeply feel that the party whose career is so illustrious in great and patriotic achievement, will not fulfill its destiny until peace and prosperity are established in all the land, nor until liberty of thought, conscience and action, and equality of opportunity, shall be not merely cold formalities of statute, but living birthrights, which the humble may confidently claim and the powerful dare not deny.

The resolution referring to the public service seems to me deserving of approval. Surely no man should be the incumbent of an office the duties of which he is, for any cause, unfit to perform, who is lacking in the ability, fidelity or integrity which a proper administration of such office demands. This sentiment would, doubtless, meet with general acquiescence; but opinion has been widely divided upon the wisdom and practicability of the various reformatory schemes which have been suggested, and of certain proposed regulations governing appointments to public office. The efficiency of such regulations has been distrusted, mainly because they have seemed to exalt mere educational and abstract tests above general business capacity, and even special fitness for the particular work in hand. It seems to me that the rules which should be applied to the management of the public service may properly conform, in the main, to such as regulate the conduct of successful private business. Original appointments should be based upon ascertained fitness. The tenure of office should be stable. Positions of responsibility should, so far as practicable, be filled by the promotion of worthy and efficient officers. The investigation of all complaints and the punishment of all official misconduct should be prompt and thorough. These views, which I have long held, repeatedly declared and uniformly applied when called upon to act, I find embodied in the resolution, which, of course, I approve. I will add that, by the acceptance of public office, whether high or low, one does not, in my judgment, escape any of his responsibilities as a citizen or lose or impair any of his rights as a citizen, and that he should enjoy absolute liberty to think, and speak, and act in political matters according to his own will and conscience, provided only that he honorably, faithfully and fully discharges all his official duties.

The resumption of specie payments—one of the fruits of Republican policy—has brought the return of abundant prosperity and the settlement of many distracting questions. The restoration of sound money, the large reduction of our public debt and of the burden of interest, the high advancement of the public credit—all attest the ability and courage of the Republican party to deal with such financial problems as may hereafter demand solution. Our paper currency is now as good as gold, and silver is performing its legitimate function for the purpose of change. The principles which should govern the relations of these elements of the currency are simple and clear. There must be no deteriorated coin, no depreciated paper. And every dollar, whether of metal or paper, should stand the test of the world's fixed standard.



The value of popular education can hardly be overstated. Although its interests must, of necessity, be chiefly confided to voluntary effort and the individual action of the several States, they should be encouraged, so far as the Constitution permits, by the generous co-operation of the National Government. The interests of the whole country demand that the advantages of our common school system should be brought within the reach of every citizen, and that no revenues of the Nation or of the States should be devoted to the support of sectarian schools.

Such changes should be made in the present tariff and system of taxation as will relieve any overburdened industry or class, and enable our manufacturers and artisans to compete successfully with those of other lands.

The Government should aid works of internal improvement national in their character, and should promote the development of our water-courses and harbors wherever the general interests of commerce require.

Four years ago, as now, the Nation stood at the threshold of a Presidential election, and the Republican party, in soliciting a continuance of its ascendancy, founded its hope of success not upon its promises but upon its history. Its subsequent course has been such as to strengthen the claims which it then made to the confidence and support of the country. On the other hand, considerations more urgent than have ever before existed forbid the accession of its opponents to power. Their success, if success attends them, must chiefly come from the united support of that section which sought the forcible disruption of the Union, and which, according to all the teachings of our past history, will demand ascendancy in the councils of the party to whose triumph it will have made by far the largest contribution.

There is the gravest reason for apprehension that exorbitant claims upon the public treasury, by no means limited to the hundreds of millions already covered by bills introduced in Congress within the past four years, would be successfully urged if the Democratic party should succeed in supplementing its present control of the National Legislature by electing the Executive also.

There is danger in intrusting the control of the whole law-making power of the Government to a party which has in almost every Southern State repudiated obligations quite as sacred as those to which the faith of the Nation now stands pledged.

I do not doubt that success awaits the Republican party, and that its triumph will assure a just, economical and patriotic administration.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. A. ARTHUR.

To the HON. GEORGE F. HOAR,  
*President of the Republican National Convention.*

APPENDIX.

---

ROLL OF

DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES

TO THE

Republican National Convention,

HELD AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,

JUNE 2, 1880,

WITH POST-OFFICE ADDRESS OF EACH.

# NAMES AND POST OFFICE ADDRESS OF DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1880.

## ALABAMA.

DELEGATES.		AT LARGE.		ALTERNATES.	
George Turner.....	Montgomery	George H. Patrick.....	Montgomery		
Ben. S. Turner.....	Selma	George M. Duskin.....	Greensborough		
J. A. Thomason.....	Huntsville	J. C. Blevins.....	Selma		
George M. Braxdall.....	Talladega	J. V. McDuffie.....	Hayneville		
DISTRICTS.					
1—James Gillette.....	Mobile	Moses Bracey.....	Gainsville		
Allen Alexander.....	do	W. L. Matthews.....	Dayton		
2—Paul Strobach.....	Montgomery	A. W. Johnson.....	Evergreen		
George W. Washington.....	do	Percy Morris.....	Montgomery Hill		
3—Isaac Heyman.....	Opelika	John B. Shaw.....	Eufaula		
William Youngblood.....	Union Springs	Benj. Y. Martin.....	Seals Station		
4—William J. Stevens.....	Selma				
James T. Rapier.....	Montgomery				
5—L. E. Parsons, Jr.....	Rockford	John B. Simpson.....	Prattville		
H. C. Bryan.....	Wetumpka	E. B. McColley.....	Lafayette		
6—W. S. Bird.....	Eutaw	Elisha Williams.....	Tuscaloosa		
N. W. Trimble.....	Gainesville	Lloyd Leftwich.....	Eutaw		
7—William H. Smith.....	Wedowee	R. S. Heflin.....	Wedowee		
Willard Warner.....	Tecumseh	Isaac Frank.....	Jacksonville		
8—J. M. Hinds.....	Decatur	D. S. Brandon.....	Huntsville		
A. W. McCullough.....	Huntsville	T. J. Lake.....	Athens		

## ARKANSAS.

## AT LARGE.

S. W. Dorsey.....	Little Rock	J. T. Penn.....	Harrison
Powell Clayton.....	do	J. P. Jones.....	Watson's
M. W. Gibbs.....	do	W. D. Merriwether.....	Monticello
H. B. Robinson.....	Helena	N. W. Moore.....	pringfield
O. P. Snyder.....	Pine Bluff	Morris Holmes.....	Hampton
J. H. Johnson.....	Augusta	Harrison Arbaugh.....	
O. A. Hadley.....	Little Rock	Jerome Lewis.....	Little Rock
Jacob Trieber.....	Helena	W. H. Nelson.....	Hot Springs
Ferdinand Havis.....	Pine Bluff	S. J. Hollingsworth.....	Pine Bluff
S. H. Holland.....	Lake Village	H. F. Best.....	Texarkana
James K. Barnes.....	El Dorado	V. P. Caffrey.....	Dardanelle
Julius A. Barnes.....	Fort Smith	O. M. Spellman.....	Swan Lake

## CALIFORNIA.

## AT LARGE.

J. C. Wilmerding.....	San Francisco	C. Mason Kinne.....	San Francisco
E. A. Davis.....	Yuba	John V. Scott.....	Shasta
Socrates Huff.....	Alameda	J. E. Johns.....	Amador
John Mansfield.....	Los Angeles	Will M. Smith.....	San Diego

## DISTRICTS.

1—Sam'l Mogrove.....	San Francisco	Geo. A. Fisher.....	San Francisco
John A. Benson.....	Alameda	F. J. French.....	San Francisco
2—Creed Haymond.....	Sacramento	James Foster.....	Contra Costa
J. K. Doak.....	San Joaquin	John H. Roberts.....	Alameda
3—H. T. Farbanks.....	Snoma	F. A. Leach.....	Solano
Joseph Russ.....	Humboldt	S. G. Hilborn.....	Solano
4—D. S. Payne.....	Santa Clara	Charles Sherman.....	Kern
F. M. Pixley.....	Los Angeles	J. P. Stearns.....	Santa Barbara

## COLORADO.

## DELEGATES.

John L. Routt.....	Denver
Lafayette Head.....	Conejos
Amos Steck.....	Denver
Geo. T. Clark.....	Leadville
John A. Elliot.....	Boulder
M. N. Magone.....	Canon City

## ALTERNATES.

E. L. Campbell.....	Leadville
E. P. Kent.....	Oursay
Wolf Londoner.....	Denver
A. P. Curry.....	Leadville
J. T. Blake.....	Cleora
J. D. Hall.....	Silver Cliff

## CONNECTICUT.

## AT LARGE.

Henry C. Robinson.....	Hartford
John M. Douglas.....	Middletown
Augustus Brandegee.....	New London
Samuel Fessenden.....	Stamford
Martin L. Bennett.....	Hartford
George M. Harmon.....	New Haven
Robert Colt.....	New London
Frederick Miles.....	Salisbury

## DISTRICTS.

1—Andrew S. Upson.....	Farmington
William M. Corbin.....	Union
2—Hobart B. Bigelow.....	New Haven
William C. Hough.....	Essex
3—Daniel Chadwick.....	Lyme
Jeremiah Olney.....	Thompson
4—Edgar S. Tweedy.....	Danbury
N. Taylor Baldwin.....	Plymouth
S. P. Newell.....	Bristol
E. A. Converse.....	Stafford
H. Lynde Harrison.....	Gulford
A. M. Wright.....	Essex
Siles T. Stanton.....	Stonington
Alexander Warner.....	Pomfret
A. H. Byington.....	Norwalk
A. P. Bradstreet.....	Thomaston

## DELAWARE.

Christian Febiger.....	Wilmington
Levi G. Clarke.....	St. George's
Nathaniel B. Smithers.....	Dover
James R. Lofland.....	Milford
Benjamin Burton.....	Georgetown
Albert Curry.....	Greenwood
S. V. B. Carty.....	St. George's
Samuel Silver.....	Wilmington
George P. Fisher.....	Dover
Lemuel Johnson.....	Leipsic
Jacob Moore.....	Georgetown
Abel S. Small.....	Lincoln

FLORIDA.

AT LARGE.

W. W. Hicks .....	Arcadia .....	Roy P. Moody .....	Jacksonville .....
V. J. Shipman .....	Lawtey .....	D. M. Papy .....	St. Augustine .....
Sherman Conant .....	Jacksonville .....	H. H. Delany .....	Fernandina .....
Joseph E. Lee .....	do .....	N. K. Sawyer .....	Jacksonville .....
Reuben S. Smith .....	Marianna .....	W. N. Potter .....	Milton .....
F. C. Humphries .....	Pensacola .....	Mark T. White .....	Pensacola .....
E. I. Alexander .....	Madison .....	H. W. Chandler .....	Ocala .....
James Dean .....	Welborn .....	W. H. Gleason .....	Miami .....

GEORGIA.

AT LARGE.

E. C. Wade .....	Savannah .....	R. R. Wright .....	Cuthbert .....
W. A. Pledger .....	Athens .....	Harrison Harris .....	Madison .....
Edwin Belcher .....	Augusta .....	W. H. Smyth .....	Atlanta .....
J. F. Long .....	Macon .....	C. O. Fisher .....	Griffin .....

DISTRICTS.

1—Louis B. Toomer .....	Savannah .....	Thomas Butler .....	St. Marys .....
Floyd Snelson .....	No. 8, A. & G. R. R. .....	S. H. Morse .....	Savannah .....
2—B. F. Brinberry .....	Cuthbert .....	S. M. Griffin .....	Quitman .....
John Few .....	Thomasville .....	H. R. Stewart .....	Bainbridge .....
3—Jack Brown .....	Washington .....	W. D. King .....	Hawkinsville .....
Elbert Head .....	Americus .....	S. S. Smalls .....	McVie .....
4—R. D. Locke .....	Columbus .....	A. W. Fort .....	Newnan .....
J. C. Bealle .....	Hamilton .....	H. M. Dougherty .....	Hamilton .....
5—A. E. Buck .....	Atlanta .....	E. M. Brown .....	Griffin .....
H. A. Rucker .....	do .....	George E. Holmes .....	Decatur .....
6—W. W. Brown .....	Macon .....	P. O. Holt .....	Macon .....
James B. Devaux .....	do .....	Peter O'Neil .....	Milledgeville .....

GEORGIA—CONTINUED.	
DELEGATES.	DISTRICTS.
7—A. M. Middlebrooks.....	H. S. Ober.....
W. B. Higginbotham.....	J. C. Upshaw.....
8—C. H. Prince.....	Rome.....
Judson W. Lyons.....	Augusta.....
9—S. A. Darnelle.....	do.....
Madison Davis.....	Atlanta.....
	A. W. Watson.....
	John A. Stewart.....
	Morganston.....
	Alternates.
	Rome.....
	Crawfordsville.....
	Greensboro.....
	Athens.....
	Morganston.....

## ILLINOIS.

AT LARGE.	
John A. Logan.....	Chicago.....
Emory A. Storrs.....	do.....
Green B. Rann.....	Golconda.....
David T. Littler.....	Springfield.....
	Wm. McAdam.....
	Ross Graham.....
	Solomon Degan.....
	C. C. Campbell.....
	Chester.....
	Carmi.....
	Ottawa.....
	Giant Park.....

DISTRICTS.	
1—William J. Campbell.....	Chicago.....
Eldridge G. Keith.....	do.....
2—A. M. Wright.....	do.....
R. S. Tuthill.....	do.....
8—Washington Heeing.....	do.....
Elliott Anthony.....	do.....
4—C. W. Marsh.....	Sycamore.....
Lot B. Smith.....	Harvard.....
6—Robert E. Logan.....	Morrison.....
William H. Holcomb.....	Rochelle.....
6—James K. Edsall.....	Chicago.....
John P. Hand.....	Cambridge.....
7—E. F. Bull.....	Ottawa.....
E. W. Willard.....	Wilmington.....
	Arthur Dixon.....
	Louis Hutt.....
	John Baumgarten.....
	Chas. W. Woodman.....
	George Strukman.....
	John A. Mason.....
	D. M. Marsh.....
	A. C. Fassett.....
	J. H. Mosher.....
	J. L. Koster.....
	S. J. Hume.....
	William Jackson.....
	Geo. M. Hollenbach.....
	Francis Bowen.....
	Chicago.....
	do.....
	do.....
	do.....
	do.....
	Elgin.....
	Sandwich.....
	Prophetstown.....
	Byron.....
	Genella.....
	Rock Island.....
	Millbrook.....
	Sheridan.....

## ILLINOIS—CONTINUED.

## DISTRICTS.

8—J. B. Wilson.....	Wellington.....	H. W. Snow.....	Sheldon.....
R. J. Hanna.....	Kankakee.....	Ira C. Mosier.....	Kankakee.....
9—John A. Gray.....	Lewiston.....	C. Balnce.....	Peoria.....
W. Selden Gale.....	Galesburg.....	John Lackey.....	.....
10—Henry Tebbes.....	Kirkwood.....	William Venable.....	Macomb.....
John Fletcher.....	Carthage.....	J. P. Graham.....	Aledo.....
11—O. B. Hamilton.....	Jerseyville.....	M. D. Massie.....	New Canton.....
Thos. G. Black.....	Clayton.....	Lyman F. Wheeler.....	.....
12—Geo. M. Brinkerhoff.....	Springfield.....	George N. Black.....	Springfield.....
Chas. M. Eames.....	Jacksonville.....	Edward S. Greenleaf.....	Morgan.....
13—F. Low.....	Havana.....	R. D. Smith.....	Pekin.....
E. D. Blinn.....	Lincoln.....	W. E. Gapon.....	Bloomington.....
14—John V. Harris.....	Champaign.....	Albert Emerson.....	Monticello.....
James W. Haworth.....	Decatur.....	Thomas E. Bundy.....	Tuscola.....
15—Wm. H. Barlow.....	Effingham.....	J. W. Fisher.....	Lawrenceville.....
Alvin P. Green.....	Sullivan.....	Daniel L. Gold.....	Vandalia.....
16—J. M. Truitt.....	Hillsboro.....	E. M. Ashcroft.....	do.....
Louis Krueghoff.....	Belleville.....	R. T. Higgins.....	do.....
17—William E. Kieffner.....	Alton.....	H. M. Kimball.....	do.....
E. Gueltsch.....	.....	C. W. Thomas.....	Belleville.....
18—Chas. O. Pather.....	Cairo.....	E. O. Freeman.....	Cobden.....
John M. Davis.....	Carbondale.....	James A. Viall.....	New Brunswick.....
19—C. W. Pavey.....	Mt. Vernon.....	Chas. Churchill.....	Albion.....
W. H. Williams.....	Benton.....	Wm. H. Robinson.....	Fairfield.....



## INDIANA.

## DELEGATES.

Benjamin H. Harrison.....	AT LARGE.	Jesse J. Brown .....	ALTERNATES.	New Albany
Daniel B. Kuntler .....	Indianapolis	Thos. H. Nelson.....		Terre Haute
George W. Friedley .....	Evansville	Leonidas Sexton.....		Rushville
Byron W. Langdon .....	Bedford	John Morris .....		Fort Wayne
	Lafayette			

## DISTRICTS.

1—Alexander Gilchrist .....	Evansville	E. F. Horn.....	Evansville
William M. Hoggatt.....	Boonville	Frank B. Posey .....	Petersburg
2—John B. Glover.....	Bedford	D. Pett .....	Shoals
Samuel J. Kerchival .....	Washington	W. G. Young .....	Hillham
3—W. A. Slemmons .....	Corydon	Lee St. Clair.....	Salem
Jonathan H. Friedley.....	Vienna	William H. Fogg.....	Jeffersonville
4—James H. Crozier .....	Madison	John B. Rebeck.....	Versailles
Francis Adkinson.....	Lawrenceburg	H. Husted.....	Liberty
5—David A. Beem.....	Spencer	J. J. Irwin.....	Columbus
Joseph B. Homan.....	Danville	G. M. Overstreet, Jr.....	Franklyn
6—Milton Peden.....	Knights town	Archibald M. Kennedy.....	Rushville
Thomas M. Little.....	Connorsville	C. B. Walker.....	Richmond
7—Roscoe G. Hawkins.....	Indianapolis	George H. Chapman.....	Indianapolis
James B. McFadden.....	Shelbyville	Nelson Bradley.....	Greenfield
8—Wm. R. McKeen.....	Terre Haute	George E. Hubbard.....	Brazil
Enos H. Nabaker .....	Covington	Zimri Adkinson.....	Williamsport
9—Baltzer K. Higinbotham.....	Frankfort	John C. Farber.....	Thornstown
George F. Chittenden .....	Anderson	James L. Evans.....	Noblesville
10—Frank S. Bedell.....	Crown Point	M. L. Essick.....	Rochester
John W. Weimer.....	Bennett's Station	Charles Kablo .....	Logansport
11—Jacob J. Todd.....	Bluffton	William A. Bonham.....	Hartford City
J. Fred Naile.....	Kokomo	John M. Pettit .....	Wabash
12—William M. Clapp.....	Albion	Jacob Newman.....	La Grange
Charles K. Baxter.....	Waterloo	Samuel Beight.....	Angola
13—Clement Studebaker.....	South Bend	H. G. Thayer .....	Plymouth
Landon C. Pose.....	La Porte	James S. Asney.....	Warsaw

## IOWA.

## AT LARGE.

J. S. Clarkson.....	J. H. Powers.....	New Hampton
S. M. Clark.....	George A. Morse.....	Corning
D. B. Henderson.....	J. C. Schrader.....	Iowa City
George D. Perkins.....	B. F. Elbert.....	Albia

## DISTRICTS.

1—H. A. Burrell.....	J. G. Newbold.....	Mt. Pleasant
J. S. Hurley.....	James Ellerick.....	
2—J. W. Thompson.....	J. S. Stacey.....	Anamosa
H. C. Carr.....	E. S. Bailey.....	Clinton
3—J. F. Bassett.....	D. W. Bruckart.....	Independence
P. F. Sturgis.....	H. L. Rann.....	Manchester
4—H. L. Huff.....	Aaron Kimball.....	Cresco
L. S. Butler.....	W. C. Hayward.....	
5—Frank J. Upton.....	L. Clark.....	Tama City
R. M. Haines.....	B. F. Reno.....	Marengo
6—J. F. Greenlee.....	E. C. Haines.....	
George D. Wooden.....	J. P. Early.....	Monroe
7—Edward R. McKee.....	G. W. Blake.....	Chariton
John S. Runnells.....	C. C. Goodale.....	
8—P. W. Llewellyn.....	W. S. Strawn.....	Red Oak
J. M. Sharp.....	A. Mallory.....	Afton
9—W. D. Lucas.....	D. E. Snow.....	
B. H. Harkness.....	George E. Roberts.....	Fort Dodge

## KANSAS.

John A. Martin.....	N. A. Adams.....	Manhattan
Perry Hutchinson.....	W. B. Townsend.....	Lansing
George H. Case.....	W. H. Barnes.....	Stockton

## KANSAS—CONTINUED.

## DELEGATES.

Simon Matz.....Hays City  
 Benj. F. Simpson.....Paola  
 S. S. Benedict.....Guilford  
 B. W. Perkins.....Oswego  
 P. B. Plumb.....Emporia  
 William Thompson.....Burlingame  
 H. W. Walcott.....Garfield  
 2—T. C. Sears.....Ottawa  
 S. A. Day.....Fort Scott  
 8—Thomas J. Anderson.....Topeka  
 John M. Steele.....Wichita

## ALTERNATES.

Charles T. Johnson.....Oberlin  
 L. K. Kirk.....Garnett  
 W. J. Buchan.....Wyandotte  
 E. A. Howard.....Newton  
 R. W. P. Muse.....Sterling  
 C. F. Daniels.....  
 J. C. Long.....

A. T. Sharpe.....  
 S. W. Kepfinger.....  
 .....  
 .....

## KENTUCKY.

## AT LARGE.

Walter Evans.....Louisville  
 Wm. O. Bradley.....Lancaster  
 John D. White.....Manchester  
 John H. Jackson.....Lexington

H. C. Brennan.....Lexington  
 H. Fitzbutler.....Louisville  
 George Denney, Jr.....Lancaster  
 Wm. Berkle.....Lancaster

## DISTRICTS.

1—J. R. Puryear.....Paducah  
 J. H. Hapay.....Mayfield  
 2—A. H. Clark.....Hopkinsville  
 E. C. Hubbard.....Hartford  
 8—W. G. Hunter.....Berkesville  
 George T. Blakey.....Auburn  
 4—E. H. Hobson.....Greensburg  
 John W. Lewis.....Springfield

E. Farley.....Paducah  
 E. W. Bagby.....Paducah  
 J. F. Kimbly.....Owensboro  
 B. W. Littell.....Hopkinsville  
 W. B. Craddock.....Scottsville  
 A. J. Bowles.....Bowling Green  
 R. L. Wintersmith.....Elizabethtown  
 J. L. Lafferty.....Lebanon

## KENTUCKY—CONTINUED.

DISTRICTS.	
6—Silas F. Miller.....	Louisville.....J. Q. Adams.....Louisville
James F. Buckner.....	Alex. Morris.....Louisville
6—J. E. Hamilton.....	E. E. Wood.....Newport
James H. Barbour.....	J. J. Landram.....Warsaw
7—R. P. Stoll.....	James Thomas.....Paris
William Brown.....	George Stoll, Jr.....Lexington
8—John K. Faulkner.....	James H. Caperton.....Richmond
Logan McKee.....	Thomas H. Harden.....Harrodsburg
9—A. E. Adams.....	S. F. Johnson.....Hazard
A. T. Wood.....	Frank Fitch.....London
10—W. W. Culberson.....	Frank French.....Owingsville
Morris C. Hutchins.....	J. W. Zimmerman.....Ashland

## LOUISIANA.

H. C. Warmoth.....	George T. Ruby.....New Orleans
James Lewis.....	Charles H. Cripps.....Delta
J. T. Ludeling.....	Pierre Landry.....Donaldsville
A. J. Dumont.....	George L. Norton.....New Orleans
W. P. Kellogg.....	Robert O. Herbert.....Plaquemine
Don A. Pardee.....	Charles Gordon.....do
Richard Simms.....	J. P. Coates.....Pt. Coupee
A. S. Badger.....	A. Raford Blunt.....Natchitoches
Samuel Wakefield.....	Morris Marks.....Donaldsville
A. H. Leonard.....	J. A. Gla.....Lake Providence
William Harper.....	B. H. Lanier.....do
James S. Mathews.....	Noah Neely.....Vienna
W. L. McMillen.....	J. W. Cook.....Homer
David Young.....	E. Gantt.....Opelousas
J. H. Burch.....	B. V. Baranco.....Baton Rouge
Jack Wherten.....	J. D. Kennedy.....New Orleans

## MAINE.

## DELEGATES.

## AT LARGE.

## ALTERNATES.

Eugene Hale .....	Ellsworth	Orville D. Baker .....	Augusta
Joseph R. Bodwell .....	Hallowell	Fred'k Down .....	Portland
E. T. Gile .....	Auburn	Wm. H. Simpson .....	Belfast
Almon A. Strout .....	Portland	A. C. Hamlin .....	Bangor

## DISTRICTS.

1—W. W. Thomas, Jr .....	Portland	Wm. Osgood .....	North Yarmouth
Jos ph R. Libby .....	Biddeford	Elisha H. Jewett .....	South Berwick
2—Wm. P. Frye .....	Bewiston	J. P. Swazey .....	Canton
3—Joseph H. Manley .....	Bath	Charles J. Talbot .....	East Wilton
S. S. Marble .....	Augusta	John T. Richards .....	Gardiner
4—Lewis Barker .....	Waldoborough	D. D. Stewart .....	St. Albans
Lewellyn Powers .....	Bangor	Charles Shaw .....	Dexter
5—L. G. Downes .....	Houlton	E. A. Thompson .....	Dover
John S. Case .....	Calais	L. A. Emery .....	Ellsworth
	Rockland	John Pierce .....	Winterport

## MARYLAND.

## AT LARGE.

James A. Gary .....	Baltimore	George C. Maund .....	Baltimore
Lloyd Lowndes, Jr. ....	Cumberland	S. Parker Basley .....	Towsontown
J. Morrison Harris .....	Baltimore	William H. Perkins .....	Chestertown
Jacob Tome .....	Port Deposit	James E. Briscoe .....	Baltimore

## DISTRICTS.

1—Charles T. Westcott .....	Chestertown	C. F. Duer .....	Crisfield
Samuel Mallallen .....	Millington	Robert D. Bradley .....	Towsontown
2—John A. J. Creswell .....	Elkton	H. C. Longnecker .....	Towsontown
Jacob J. Weaver, Jr .....	Uniontown	George Mottler .....	Frederick

## MARYLAND—CONTINUED.

## DISTRICTS.

3—D. Pinkney West.....	Baltimore	J. W. Locks.....	Baltimore
W. W. Johnson.....	do	O. O. Deaver.....	do
4—William J. Hooper.....	do	A. Warfield Monroe.....	do
H. J. Brown.....	do	J. L. H. Smith.....	do
5—J. Parra Crane.....	Leondartown	David E. Hopkins.....	Lisbon
John W. Belt.....	Upper Marlboro	James H. Logan.....	Baltimore
6—Upton Buhrman.....	Myersville	Francis Adams.....	
Benjamin H. Miller.....	Sandy Spring	John Swadner.....	

## MASSACHUSETTS.

## AT LARGE.

George F. Hoar.....	Worcester	Eben F. Stone.....	Newburyport
Charles R. Codman ..	Boston	James M. Barker.....	Pittsfield
John E. Sanford.....	Taunton	Charles Allen.....	Newton
Julius H. Seelye.....	Amherst	Robert R. Bishop.....	do

## DISTRICTS.

1—Charles W. Clifford ..	New Bedford	Daniel E. Damon.....	Fall River
Azariah Eldridge.....	Yarmouth	William S. Greene.....	do
2 William C. Lovering.....	Taunton	George A. Adams.....	Attleboro
F. A. Hobart.....	Braintree	John J. Whipple.....	Brockton
3 - Phineas Pierce.....	Boston	Horace T. Rockwell.....	Boston
Choate Burnham.....	do	Arthur W. Taft.....	do
4—Eustace C. Fitz.....	Chelsea	Benjamin F. Campbell.....	do
J. Otis Weatherbee.....	Boston	John J. Smith.....	do
5—H. Cabot Lodge.....	Nahant	Edward D. Hayden.....	Woburn
Daniel Russell.....	Melrose	Hartwell S. French.....	Lynn
6—Dudley Porter.....	Haverhill	E. H. Haskell.....	Gloucester
N. A. Horton.....	Salem	David Bremner.....	Boxford



## MICHIGAN—CONTINUED.

DISTRICTS.			
6—Charles Kipp.....	St. Johns.....	E. A. Mann.....	Howell.....
J. M. Adams.....	Flint.....	A. S. Nichols.....	Corunna.....
7—B. W. Huston.....	Vassar.....	J. C. Waterbury.....	Sand Lake.....
William Jenny.....	Mt. Clemens.....	J. B. Moore.....	La Barge.....
8—E. O. Avery.....	Alpena.....	Byron E. Warren.....	Bay City.....
Thomas N. Stevens.....	Stanton.....	John S. Eastabrook.....	East Saginaw.....
9—J. H. Chandler.....	Houghton.....	S. M. Stephenson.....	Menominee.....
D. A. Blodgett.....	Hersey.....	M. P. Gale.....	Big Rapids.....

## MINNESOTA.

AT LARGE.			
D. Sinclair.....	Winona.....	O. V. Tousley.....	Minneapolis.....
A. O. Whipple.....	Northfield.....	D. B. Johnson.....	Austin.....
D. M. Sabin.....	Stillwater.....	G. D. Post.....	Lake City.....
Dorilus Morrison.....	Minneapolis.....	Daniel Fish.....	Delano.....

DISTRICTS.			
1—A. C. Wedge.....	Albert Lee.....	C. H. Smith.....	Windom.....
J. V. Daniels.....	Recheater.....	Lars O. Harris.....	Preston.....
2—Marcus Johnson.....	Wilmar.....	William Pfoender.....	New Ulm.....
George Bryant.....	Elgin.....	Lane K. Stone.....	Montevideo.....
3—E. F. Drake.....	St. Paul.....	D. B. Searles.....	St. Cloud.....
C. F. Kindred.....	Brainard.....	H. D. Page.....	Fergus Falls.....

## MISSISSIPPI.

AT LARGE.			
Blanche K. Bruce.....	Rosedale.....	John R. Lynch.....	Natches.....
James Hill.....	Jackson.....	Thomas W. Hunt.....	Jackson.....
George M. Buchanan.....	Holly Springs.....	John S. Burton.....	Holly Springs.....
H. C. Carter.....	Vicksburg.....	Wesley Creighton.....	Vicksburg.....



## MISSISSIPPI—CONTINUED.

DELEGATES.		DISTRICTS.		ALTERNATES.	
1—W. H. Kennon.....	George C. McKee.....	Columbus	James W. Lee.....	Aberdeen	
2—Henry C. Niles.....	Joshua R. Smith.....	Tongaloo	W. H. Furniss.....	Hazlehurst	
3—George W. Gayles.....	F. M. Libby.....	Meridian	C. S. Jones.....	Kosciusko	
4—Samuel P. Hurst.....	W. W. Bell.....	Stornville	H. H. Truhart.....	Lexington	
5—Green C. Chandler.....	Charles W. Clarke.....	do	A. P. Shattuck.....	Okolona	
6—R. H. Montgomery.....	Richard F. Beck.....	Chapel Hill	D. T. J. Matthews.....	Sarlis	
		Pontotoc	J. P. Matthews.....	Hazlehurst	
		Corinth	Richard Griggs.....	Mayersville	
		Greenville	Henry R. Smith.....	Canton	
		Durant	William Noonan.....	Natchez	
		Vicksburg	W. W. Edwards.....	Vicksburg	
			H. C. Powers.....	Starkville	

## MISSOURI.

AT LARGE.	
Chauncey I. Filley.....	Donald McLeod.....
Robert T. Vanhorn.....	William Walker.....
Harrison E. Havens.....	Charles G. Burton.....
David Wagner.....	James K. Kidd.....
DISTRICTS.	
1—Nicholas Berg.....	John Krauss.....
John A. Weber.....	C. A. Newcomb.....
2—Thomas B. Rodgers.....	John S. Cavender.....
John W. Wheeler.....	Thomas C. Dutro.....
3—John Henry Pohlman.....	Wm. Wilhelm.....
T. G. Allen.....	F. M. Lally.....
4—Wm. Ballentine.....	John Bushing.....
James Lindsay.....	Byrd Duncan.....
	St. Louis
	Farmington
	St. Louis
	do
	do
	Jennings
	Commerce
	Centreville
	St. Louis
	Kimmarick
	St. Louis
	do
	do
	do
	Charleston
	Poplar Bluff

## MISSOURI—CONTINUED.

## DISTRICTS.

6—Hamilton E. Baker.....	J. B. Riggs.....	Houston
Thaddeus A. Lowe.....	Luman F. Parker.....	Rolla
6—Robert C. McBeth.....	Charles H. Brown.....	Lamar
W. E. Maynard.....	William Page.....	Butler
7—A. D. Jaynes.....	C. A. Thompson.....	Jefferson City
A. G. Hollenbeck.....	Robert Taubman.....	Lexington
8—Wm. J. Terrell.....	J. W. Jenkins.....	Kansas City
Luther Clay Slavens.....	John D. S. Cook.....	do
9—Sam'l C. McCluskey.....	M. M. Campbell.....	Albany
N. Fred. Essig.....	James T. Beach.....	St Joseph
10—Thomas D. Neal.....	John P. Jones.....	Keytesville
George Hall.....	J. C. Kennedy.....	Moberly
11—Thomas J. Whiteman.....	George W. Castrop.....	Westphalia
Henry N. Cook.....	J. L. Jones.....	Malta Bend
12—H. M. Hiller.....	Fletcher White.....	Macon City
James E. Adams.....	A. L. Stewart.....	La Grange
13—Richard A. Buckner.....	C. W. Rush.....	Warrenton
Stuart Carkner.....	Charles S. Waldon.....	Bowling Green

## NEBRASKA.

## AT LARGE.

James W. Dawes.....	J. Jensen.....	Geneoa
Lorenzo Crouse.....	J. J. Brown.....	Omaha
J. L. Mitchell.....	Isaac Wildes.....	Plattsmouth
William Gaslin, Jr.....	V. L. Bierbower.....	Sidney
D. A. Lewis.....	M. Malin.....	Niobrara
N. R. Persinger.....	L. A. Keens.....	Fremont

NEVADA.	
DELEGATES.	ALTERNATES.
E. Strother.....	J. R. Shaw.....Dayton
W. W. Bishop.....	J. W. McWilliams.....Battle Mountain
C. C. Stevenson.....	J. B. Williamson.....Hamilton
T. D. Edwards.....	Benjamin Curler.....Belmont
J. J. Meigs.....	S. S. Grass.....Winnemucca
M. D. Foley.....	W. J. Marsh.....Reno

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

AT LARGE.	
William E. Chandler.....	Benjamin A. Kimball.....Concord
David H. Buffum.....	William E. Stevens.....do
Ruel Durkee.....	James A. Wood.....Acworth
Benjamin F. Prescott.....	Augustus A. Woolson.....Lisbon

## DISTRICTS.

1—Charles M. Murphy.....	S. Girard Norcross.....Conway
Joel Eastman.....	Orrin C. Moore.....Nashua
2—Charles Holman.....	Charles Williams.....Manchester
Nashua	
James G. Sturgis.....	David H. Goodell.....Andrim
3—Samuel W. Hale.....	Edward Gustine.....Keene
Alson L. Brown.....	Henry L. Tilton.....Littleton
Whitefield	

## NEW JERSEY.

AT LARGE.	
Judson Kilpatrick.....	John I. Blair.....Blairstown
William J. Sewall.....	Z. K. Pangborn.....Jersey City
George A. Halley.....	Garrett A. Hobart.....Paterson
Wm. Walter Phelps.....	Chas. M. Theberath.....Newark
Tenafly	

## NEW JERSEY—CONTINUED.

## DISTRICTS.

1—C. H. Sinnickson.....	Salem	W. Harrison Livermore.....	Woodbury
Samuel Hopkins.....	Woodbury	I. T. Nichols.....	Bridgeton
2—John S. Irick.....	Vincetown	Wm. H. Skirm.....	Trenton
John S. Schultze.....	Manchester	J. G. Gardner.....	Atlantic City
3—John F. Babcock.....	New Brunswick	John C. Rose.....	Linden
Chilion Robbins.....	Freehold	Washington Lithgow.....	Plainfield
4—Nathaniel W. Voorhees.....	Clinton	Peter Cramer.....	New Hampton
W. A. Stiles.....	Deckertown	J. G. Schenck.....	Neshanic
5—Henry L. Butler.....	Paterson	R. B. Terhune.....	Hackensack
A. A. Vance.....	Morristown	J. Seward Wills.....	Stanhope
6—Edmund L. Joy.....	Newark	H. J. Yates.....	Newark
A. P. Condit.....	East Orange	W. Riker, jr.....	Irvington
7—James Gopsill.....	Jersey City	Aaron S. Baldwin.....	Weehawken
B. W. Throckmorton.....	do	W. Taylor.....	Jersey City

## NEW YORK.

## AT LARGE.

Roscoe Conkling.....	Utica	Lewis Lawrence.....	Utica
Jacob W. Hoystradt.....	Hudson	Alonzo B. Cornell.....	New York
Chester A. Arthur.....	do	Stewart L. Woodford.....	Brooklyn
James D. Warren.....	Buffalo	John N. Knapp.....	Auburn

## DISTRICTS.

1—John Birdsall.....	Glen Cove	George Wallace.....	Freeport
Simeon S. Hawkins.....	Jamesport	William Nicoll.....	Islip
2—James Jourdan.....	Brooklyn	Andrew J. Perry.....	Brooklyn
Amos F. Learned.....	do	David S. Arnett.....	do
3—Frederick A. Schroeder.....	do	George F. Elliott.....	do
Albert Daggett.....	do	August H. Goetting.....	do

## NEW YORK—CONTINUED.

DELEGATES.		DISTRICTS.		ALTERNATES.	
4—	Jacob Worth	Brooklyn	Frank C. Lang	Brooklyn	
	Benjamin F. Tracy	do	James L. Jensen	do	
5—	Edwards Pierpont	New York	Mathew Stewart	New York	
	Edward W. Stoughton	do	John H. Brady	do	
6—	Charles E. Cornell	do	John Simpson	do	
	DeWitt C. Wheeler	do	Chester H. Southworth	do	
7—	Jacob M. Patterson, jr	do	John Harris Brady	do	
	John J. O'Brien	do	Joseph C. Pinckney	do	
8—	John D. Lawson	do	John W. Jacobus	do	
	Charles Blackie	do	H. Howard Cargill	do	
9—	Joel W. Mason	do	Charles A. Flanner	do	
	Stephen B. French	do	Charles F. Bruder	do	
10—	Levi P. Morton	do	Charles H. Hall	do	
	Bernard Bigin	do	Edward S. Goss	do	
11—	Thomas Murphy	do	James M. Varnum	do	
	Jacob Hees	do	William R. Spooner	do	
22—	William H. Robertson	Katonah	J. Thomas Stearns	Tremont	
	James W. Husted	Peekskill	James C. Cooley	Westchester	
13—	Louis F. Payn	Chatham Village	James N. Townsend	Hudson	
	John B. Dutcher	Pawling	Ezra White	Poughkeepsie	
44—	Moses D. Stivers	Middletown	James W. Taylor	Newburgh	
	Blake G. Wales	Pike Pond	Dwight B. Baker	Suffern	
	George H. Sharpe	Kingston	William R. Sheffield	Saugerties	
55—	Rufus H. King	Catskill	Benjamin M. Handy	Schoharie	
16—	Henry R. Pierson	Albany	John F. Smyth	Albany	
	Charles P. Easton	do	Addison A. Keyes	do	
17—	John M. Francis	Troy	William F. Taylor	Berlin	
	Isaac V. Baker, Jr	Comstocks	A. Dallas Wait	Fort Edward	
8—	William W. Rockwell	Glens Falls	Shepard P. Bowen	Plattsburgh	
	Oliver Abell, Jr	Elizabethtown	Frederick A. Johnson	Glens Falls	

## NEW YORK—CONTINUED.

## DISTRICTS.

19—Wells S. Dickinson.....	Bangor.....	Erasmus D. Brooks.....	Potsdam.....
Henry R. James.....	Ogdensburg.....	Daniel Peck.....	Gouverneur.....
20—Webster Wagner.....	Palatine Bridge.....	Daniel P. McQueen.....	Schenectady.....
George West.....	Ballston.....	George W. Fay.....	Gloversville.....
21—Ferris Jacobs, Jr.....	Delhi.....	Alonzo D. Harrington.....	Oxford.....
David Wilber.....	Milford.....	Novatus M. Blish.....	Hobart.....
22—John P. Douglass.....	Theresa.....	Luther H. Bailey.....	Antwerp.....
Sidney Sylvester.....	Martinsburgh.....	Clinton L. Merriam.....	Locust Grove.....
23—Arthur B. Johnson.....	Utica.....	Jonathan A. Hill.....	Forestport.....
William H. Comstock.....	do.....	Edward H. Shelley.....	Rome.....
24—George M. Case.....	Fulton.....	Nathan B. Smith.....	Pulaski.....
Charles L. Kennedy.....	Morrisville.....	Watson A. Stone.....	Oneida.....
25—Dennis McCarthy.....	Syracuse.....	J. C. Carmichael.....	Cortland.....
James J. Belden.....	do.....	Myron Bangs.....	Fayetteville.....
26—William B. Woodin.....	Auburn.....	Leander Fitch.....	Moravia.....
John B. Murray.....	Seneca Falls.....	Walter H. Allen.....	Watertown.....
27—Francis O. Mason.....	Geneva.....	Cyrillo S. Lincoln.....	Naples.....
George N. Hicks.....	Penn Yan.....	Clark Smith.....	Dundee.....
28—Thomas C. Platt.....	Oswego.....	Francis M. Finch.....	Ithaca.....
Orlow W. Chapman.....	Binghamton.....	Benjamin W. Woodward.....	Watkins.....
29—Chester S. Cole.....	Corning.....	Wilber W. Capron.....	Wayland.....
Charles J. Langdon.....	Elmira.....	Eaton N. Friabee.....	Elmira.....
30—Edward A. Frost.....	Rochester.....	Timothy H. Holden.....	Honeoye Falls.....
Henry A. Bruner.....	Albion.....	Adolph Nolte.....	Rochester.....
31—George G. Hoskins.....	Attica.....	Wolcott J. Humphrey.....	Warsaw.....
John E. Pound.....	Lockport.....	Ralph Stockwell.....	Wilson.....
32—Ray V. Pierce.....	Buffalo.....	Norris Morey.....	Buffalo.....
John Nice.....	Grand Island.....	H. G. Leland.....	Springville.....
33—Norman M. Allen.....	Dayton.....	John E. Dusenbury.....	Portville.....
Loren B. Sessions.....	Panama.....	Horatio G. Brooks.....	Dunkirk.....

## NORTH CAROLINA.

## DELEGATES.

## AT LARGE.

W. P. Canady ..... Wilmington  
 D. H. Starbuck .. Salem  
 J. H. Harris ..... Raleigh  
 Rufus Barringer ..... Charlotte

## ALTERNATES.

W. S. Pearson ..... Morganton  
 George W. Stanton ..... Stantonsburg  
 L. T. Christmas ..... Warrenton  
 A. M. Diffe ..... Ashboro

## DISTRICTS.

1—Samuel T. Canon ..... Washington  
 Palmon John ..... Elizabeth City  
 2—Israel B. Abbott ..... Newberne  
 Claybourn Faison .....  
 3—George W. Price, Jr ..... Wilmington  
 O. H. Blocker ..... Fayetteville  
 4—Isaac J. Young ..... Raleigh  
 Stewart Ellison ..... do  
 5—Thomas B. Keogh ..... Greensboro  
 J. W. Hardin ..... Graham  
 6—O. J. Spears ..... Troy  
 W. R. Myers ..... Charlotte  
 7—W. W. Rollins ..... Marshall  
 D. C. Pearson ..... Morganton  
 8—Thomas N. Cooper ..... Cooper's Store  
 John J. Mott ..... Statesville

William Outlaw ..... Windsor  
 Miles Commander ..... Elizabeth City  
 A. McCabe ..... Tarboro  
 E. R. Page ..... Kinston  
 Wm. M. Black ..... Carthage  
 John S. Leary ..... Fayetteville  
 P. B. Hawkins ..... Louisburg  
 W. W. Arrington ..... Hilliardston  
 Joseph A. Hoskins ..... Summerfield  
 L. S. Keith ..... Lexington  
 H. B. Kennedy ..... Wadesboro  
 John Holloway ..... Lamberton  
 .....  
 A. J. Pinkham ..... Winston  
 D. L. Bringle ..... Statesville

## OHIO.

## AT LARGE.

Wm. Dennison ..... Columbus  
 James A. Garfield ..... Mentor  
 Charles Foster ..... Fostoria  
 Warner M. Bateman ..... Cincinnati

Orrin B. Gould ..... Portsmouth  
 John F. Kumlter ..... Toledo  
 James Bufort ..... Springfield  
 Amos Smith ..... Cincinnati

# OHIO—CONTINUED.

## DISTRICTS.

1—Benj. Butterworth.....	Cincinnati	Abe Mayer.....	Cincinnati
Albert Schwill .....	do	Samuel Bailly, Jr.....	do
2—Henry Kessler .....	do	Sam'l Trost.....	do
Chas. Fleischmann.....	do	John Birnbaum.....	do
3—D. W. McClung .....	Hamilton	Geo. R. Sage.....	Lebanon
A. R. Creamer.....	Washington, C. H.	J. M. McGrew.....	Wilmington
4—W. D. Bickham.....	Dayton	Emanuel Schultze .....	Xenia
Frank G. Thompson.....	Eaton	John Devor.....	Greenville
5—Joseph Morris.....	Lima	Lewis S. Gordon .....	Antwerp
J. W. Conklin.....	Celina	E. B. Walker .....	Ottawa
6—J. M. Ritchie.....	Toledo	Earl W. Merry.....	Bowling Green
W. W. Touvelle.....	Wauseon	R. D. Dole.....	Bryan
7—Marcus Boggs.....	Chillicothe	Henry Cullings.....	West Union
Alphonso Hart.....	Hillsboro	J. H. Higby.....	Piketon
8—C. D. Wright.....	Troy	J. N. Beech.....	London
J. F. Gowey.....	Urbana	Hannibal G. Hamlin.....	Springfield
9—W. C. Cooper .....	Mt. Vernon	L. M. Strong.....	Kenton
Amos Glover.....	Delaware	Hylas Sabin.....	Richwood
10—I. F. Mack.....	Sandusky	C. C. Park.....	Tiffin
D. M. Harkness.....	Bellevue	Mahlon Chance.....	Fremont
11—Wm. Nash.....	Galipolis	Frank D. Baird.....	Logan
Daniel Will.....	McArthur	Joseph Fischer.....	Ironton
12—F. C. Sessions.....	Columbus	H. C. Drinkle.....	Lancaster
John Groce.....	Circleville	Samuel Whiley.....	Junction City
13—A. W. Train.....	Zanesville	T. H. Ricketts.....	Newark
James Buckingham.....	Newark	H. G. Vanvorhes.....	Zanesville
14—H. C. Hedges.....	Mansfield	T. M. Beer.....	Ashland
S. Hunt.....	Upper Sandusky	T. B. Cunningham.....	Holmes
15—R. M. Stimson.....	Marietta	Chas. L. Kurtz.....	Athens
John W. Doherty.....	Woodsfield	J. R. Foulk.....	McConnellsville



## OHIO—CONTINUED.

## DELEGATES.

## DISTRICTS.

## ALTERNATES.

16—J. S. Pearce.....	Cadiz	S. B. Campbell .....	Cambridge
J. D. Taylor.....	Cambridge	James F. Sarritt.....	Steubenville
17—J. H. Tripp.....	Carrollton	J. W. Gillespie .....	Alliance
A. W. Jones.....	Youngstown	H. R. Hill.....	East Liverpool
18—W. H. Williams .....	Medina	J. H. Faxon.....	Elyria
L. A. Sheldon.....	La Grange	Jacob Erick.....	Wooster
19—Evan Morris.....	Gerard	Peter Hitchcock.....	Chardon
J. C. Beatty .....	Ravenna	Geo. W. Clement.....	Willoughby
20—S. T. Everett.....	Cleveland	Wm. Kaufman.....	Cleveland
James Barnett.....	do	E. H. Eggleston.....	do

## OREGON.

## AT LARGE.

E. J. Northrup.....	Portland	.....	.....
O. P. Tompkins .....	Harrisburg	.....	.....
D. C. Ireland .....	Astoria	.....	.....
George H. Williams .....	Portland	.....	.....
H. W. Scott.....	Portland	.....	.....
John H. Mitchell.....	Portland	.....	.....

## PENNSYLVANIA.

## AT LARGE.

Matthew S. Quay.....	Philadelphia	David S. Elliott.....	Everett
James McManes.....	do	Samuel M. Jackson.....	Apollo
J. Hay Brown.....	Lancaster	Edward Scull .....	Somerset
Christopher L. Magee.....	Pittsburg	Henry Buch.....	Reading

## PENNSYLVANIA—CONTINUED.

## DISTRICTS.

1—William J. Pollock.....	Philadelphia	Richard S. Campion.....	Philadelphia
William S. Douglass.....	do	Joseph W. Kerr.....	do
2—William R. Leeds.....	do	Edward M. Rowe.....	do
David H. Lane.....	do	William B. Ahern.....	do
3—William L. Smith.....	do	Thomas Smyth.....	do
David Monst.....	do	William H. Kern.....	do
4—Wm. Ellwood Rowan.....	do	David Wallace.....	do
Hamilton Disston.....	do	Thomas W. Gouth.....	do
5—Thomas I. Powers.....	do	George W. Bumm.....	do
Adam Albright.....	do	Jacob S. Serrill.....	Darby
6—Amos Gartside.....	Chester	H. H. Gilkyson.....	Phoenixville
Wm. B. Waddell.....	West Chester	Harvey Kratz.....	Hilltown
7—Caleb N. Taylor.....	Bristol	Mark H. Richards.....	Pottstown
.....	.....	George W. Harn.....	Birdsboro
8—Chester N. Farr.....	Reading	Richard McMichael.....	Reading
Samuel R. Deppen.....	Robsonia	Isaac W. Leidigh.....	Lancaster
9—A. I. Kaufman.....	Columbia	James Collins.....	Quarryville
W. K. Seltzer.....	Ephrata	William S. Major.....	Hellertown
10—Howard J. Reeder.....	Easton	U. S. Letzberger.....	Allentown
Harrison Bortz.....	Allentown	S. Y. Thompson.....	Danville
11—*.....	.....	William Lilly.....	Mauch Chaunk
W. A. M. Grier.....	Hazleton	Joseph Alexander, Jr.....	Carbondale
12—J. J. Albright.....	Scranton	Theodore Hart.....	Pittston
Alexander Farnham.....	Wilkesbarre	Levi C. Leib.....	Ashland
13—Samuel A. Losch.....	Schl. Haven	Wm I. Whitehouse.....	Pottsville
Wm. S. Moorehead.....	Trackville	S. F. Barr.....	Harrisburg
14—J. Donald Cameron.....	Harrisburg	Samuel I. Packer.....	Sunbury
Charles H. Bergner.....	do	James P. Taylor.....	Montrose
15—O. D. Kinney.....	Towanda	F. C. Bunnell.....	Tunkhannock
C. C. Jadwin.....	Honesdale		

## PENNSYLVANIA—CONTINUED.

DELEGATES.	DISTRICTS.	ALTERNATES.
16—Wm. H. Armstrong.....	Williamsport.....	E. G. Schieffelin.....Stokendale
Thomas L. Kane.....	Kane.....	D. T. Huckle.....Dushor
17—John Ceesna.....	Bedford.....	George T. Swank.....Johnstown
David Over.....	Hollidaysburg.....	D. T. Caldwell.....Tyrone
18—Joseph G. Isenberg.....	Huntingdon.....	John W. Mattern.....Huntingdon
B. F. Wagenseller.....	Selingsgrove.....	Wm. C. Pomeroy.....Port Royal
19—James Hersch.....	Gettysburg.....	John H. Ulrich.....Mechanicsburg
John Hays.....	Carlisle.....	C. G. Beales.....Gettysburg
20—James A. Beaver.....	Belleville.....	J. B. McAnally.....Clearfield
M. L. Brosius.....	Lewistown.....	John I. Rankin.....Belleville
21—George Huff.....	Greensburg.....	H. I. Brunot.....Greensburg
S. M. Bailey.....	Unionstown.....	I. B. Morris.....Waynesburg
22—W. C. Moreland.....	Pittsburg.....	A. L. Pearson.....Pittsburg
James A. McDewitt.....	do.....	William Hill.....Mansfield Valley
23—William B. Rodgers.....	Allegheny City.....	John Wegrav.....Allegheny City
James H. Lindsay.....	do.....	C. B. Shea.....do
24—J. R. Harrah.....	Beaver.....	Henry C. Fry.....Rochester
John McKinley.....	New Castle.....	James F. Scott.....Pulaski
25—Joseph Buffington.....	Kittawning.....	A. Wilson Taylor.....Indiana
James E. Long.....	Brookville.....	J. B. Agnew.....Tionesta
26—Thomas Robinson.....	Butler.....	George W. Fleiger.....Butler
John I. Gordon.....	Mercer.....	H. L. Richmond, Jr.....Meadville
27—C. M. Reed.....	Erie.....	N. W. Russell.....Belle Valley
Harrison Allen.....	Warren.....	O. M. Shortt.....Sugar Grove

\* C. G. Jackson, of Berwick, delegate, deceased, April, 1880.

## RHODE ISLAND.

John P. Sanborn .....	Newport	Andrew H. Manchester .....	Tiverton
Charles H. Handy .....	Warren	Charles A. Greene .....	Bristol
Thomas W. Chase .....	East Greenwich	William M. Spink .....	Warwick
David L. Aldrich .....	Hopkinton	James M. Cross .....	Westerly
Isaac M. Potter .....	Providence	Harvey E. Wellman .....	Providence
Almon K. Goodwin .....	Pawtucket	Stafford W. Razeo .....	do
William A. Pierce .....	Olneyville	John H. Barden .....	Scituate
Horace A. Jenckes .....	Woonsocket	James O. Inman .....	Burrillville

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

## AT LARGE.

E. W. M. Mackey .....	Charleston	T. E. Miller .....	Beaufort
E. M. Brayton .....	Columbia	H. Kennedy .....	Newberry C. H.
R. B. Elliott .....	do	C. C. McCoy .....	Chester
Samuel Lee .....	Sumter	D. A. Straker .....	Orangeburg C. H.

## DISTRICTS.

1—D. M. McCall .....	Bennettsville	H. S. Shrewsbury .....	Cheraw
W. A. Hayne .....	Marion C. H.	W. H. Birnie .....	Charleston
2—W. N. Taft .....	Charleston	E. A. Webster .....	Orangeburg
C. C. Bowen .....	do	Harry Noah .....	Columbia
3—W. M. Fine .....	Columbia	D. R. Phifer .....	Newberry
C. M. Wilder .....	do	R. M. Wallace .....	Charleston
4—Samuel T. Pioneer .....	Spartanburg	J. H. Rainey .....	Georgetown
Wilson Cook .....	Greenville	L. Cain .....	Edgefield C. H.
5—W. J. Whipper .....	Beaufort	Fred Nix, Jr. ....	Blackville
W. F. Meyers .....	Waterloo		

TENNESSEE.			ALTERNATES.		
AT LARGE.					
L. O. Honck .....	Knoxville	G. W. Levere.....	Knoxville		
Horace H. Harrison .....	Nashville	J. H. Burrus .....	Nashville		
Jacob M. Thornburgh .....	Knoxville	Edwin M. Henry.....	Greenville		
David Nunn.....	Brownsville	A. A. Freeman.....	Washington, D. C.		
DISTRICTS.					
1—R. R. Butler.....	Taylorville	W. P. Brownlow .....	Jonesboro		
Jesse L. Rogers.....	Fazewell	J. W. Brown .....	Rogersville		
2—E. J. Sandford.....	Knoxville	J. C. Davis .....	New Market		
J. M. Cordell.....	Huntsville	J. M. Greer.....	Maryville		
3—W. S. Tipton.....	Cleveland	W. B. Hill .....	Sparta		
W. T. Cate .....	Chattanooga	W. A. Henderson .....	Chattanooga		
4—H. L. W. Cheatham .....	Springfield	John Pruett.....	Gallatin		
J. S. Smith.....	Lebanon	J. H. Harding.....	Springfield		
5—W. H. Wisener .....	Shelbyville	Calvin Pickett .....	Shelbyville		
W. Y. Elliott.....	Murfreesboro	J. N. Ridley .....	Murfreesboro		
6—S. O. W. Brandon .....	Clarksville	S. Rexinger .....	Clarksville		
W. H. Young .....	Nashville	T. A. Sykes.....	Nashville		
7—A. M. Hughes, Sr. ....	Columbia	B. Frierson.....	Columbia		
B. A. J. Nixon.....	Pulaski	H. H. Thompson.....	Pulaski		
8—T. G. Muse .....	Jackson	H. R. Hinkle.....	Lexington		
E. G. Ridgeley .....	Huntington	J. T. Robinson.....	Huntington		
9—R. W. Hall.....	Trenton	H. Ryan.....	Brownsville		
Hunt Somerville .....	Mason	S. J. Haynes.....	do		
10—Fred R. Hunt .....	Memphis	T. A. Hamilton.....	Memphis		
Larkin Williams.....	Somerville	Frank Lamont.....	do		

TEXAS.			
AT LARGE.			
E. J. Davis.....	Austin	Ed. Degener.....	San Antonio
Webster Flanagan .....	Henderson	William Umbdenstock.....	Marshall
A. B. Norton.....	Dallas	Richard Allen.....	Houston
W. H. Holland.....	Austin	H. C. Manning.....	Canton

## TEXAS—CONTINUED.

## DISTRICTS.

1—George N. Dilley.....	L. W. Cooper.....	Crockett.....
William Chambers.....	L. M. Sublett.....	Beaumont.....
2—A. G. Malloy.....	Alexander Lane.....	Marshall.....
William H. Hakes.....	Andrew Sands.....	Clarksville.....
3—C. C. Binkley.....	A. R. Collins.....	Sherman.....
D. A. Robinson.....	J. P. Alexander.....	Fort Worth.....
4—J. G. Tracey.....	L. H. McKay.....	Richmond.....
W. R. Chase.....	George T. Haswell.....	Bryan.....
5—N. W. Cuneey.....	Robert Zapp.....	Round Top.....
R. H. Marvin.....	J. C. Cain.....	Chapel Hill.....
6—A. Siemering.....	Ridge Paschal.....	Laredo.....
E. H. Terrill.....	P. G. Temple.....	Fredericksburg.....

## VERMONT.

## AT LARGE.

John Gregory Smith.....	George W. Hendee.....	Morrisville.....
Frederick Billings.....	William Rounds.....	Chester.....
John W. Stewart.....	George W. Grandy.....	Vergennes.....
George W. Hooker.....	John C. Stearns.....	Bradford.....

## DISTRICTS.

1—L. Bart. Cross.....	E. J. Ormsbee.....	Brandon.....
John G. McCullough.....	Henry F. Lothrop.....	Pittsford.....
2—G. G. Benedict.....	J. H. Simpson.....	Craftsburg.....
C. S. Page.....	C. W. King.....	Lunenburg.....
3—John B. Mead.....	E. Ely Goddard.....	Ely.....
Henry C. Belden.....	A. E. Rankin.....	St. Johnsbury.....

VIRGINIA.		ALTERNATES.	
DELEGATES.		AT LARGE.	
Peter J. Carter.....	Cherry Stone	John T. Desendorf.....	Norfolk
J. W. Poindexter.....	Louisa C. H.	Samuel M. Yost.....	Staunton
D. Sheffey Lewis.....	Harrisonville	J. H. Rives.....	Lynchburg
Joseph Jorgensen.....	Petersburg	B. W. Hoxey.....	Richmond
DISTRICTS.			
1 John W. Wolts.....	Fredericksburg	E. W. Massey.....	Old Point
L. R. Stewart.....		M. E. G. Fitch.....	
2—George E. Bowden.....	Norfolk	E. D. Bland.....	City Point
Robert Norton.....	Yorktown	J. B. Jones.....	Old Point
3—O. H. Russell.....	Richmond	E. N. Kane.....	
Josiah Crump.....	do	R. F. Robinson.....	
4—W. L. Fernald.....	Danville	M. R. De Mortie.....	Burkeville
James D. Brady.....	Petersburg	J. H. Hill.....	Petersburg
5—Wm. H. Pleasants.....	Danville	Dr. G. K. Gray.....	Halifax C. H.
H. Clay Harris.....	Halifax C. H.	James Wood.....	Danville
6—J. F. Wilson.....	Lynchburg	R. E. Freeman.....	Lexington
W. R. Watkins.....	Liberty	Albert Bennett.....	
7 F. F. Ware.....	Staunton	S. M. Yost.....	Staunton
John Donovan.....	Harrisonburgh	G. W. Fisher.....	Charlottesville
8—Lunsford L. Lewis.....	Richmond	Joseph Waters.....	
William Brown.....	Lincoln P. O., Loudoun Co.	Rivan Bundy.....	Berryville
9—W. O. Austin.....	Newton	C. B. Smith.....	Newbern
C. C. Tompkins.....	Salem	John H. Davis.....	Big Lick
WEST VIRGINIA.		AT LARGE.	
A. W. Campbell.....	Wheeling	C. P. Keyes.....	Kanawha C. H.
W. J. Burley.....	Moundsville	C. H. Shattuck.....	Parkersburg
S. P. McCormick.....	Grafton	W. H. H. Flick.....	Martinsburg
John H. Riley.....	Ripley	A. G. Tebbetta.....	Union

## WEST VIRGINIA—CONTINUED.

## DISTRICTS.

1—C. D. Hubbard.....	James Archer .....	Clarksburg .....
A. C. Moore .....	C. J. Goff.....	Kingwood .....
2—J. T. Hoke .....	J. C. McGrew .....	Fairmont .....
J. M. Hagans.....	S. W. Hall .....	
3—J. W. Davis .....	Amos Dye.....	
John H. Rossier.....	John S. Cunningham .....	

## WISCONSIN.

## AT LARGE.

J. B. Cassoday.....	Janesville .....	R. H. Baker .....	Racine .....
Edward Sanderson.....	Milwaukee .....	DeWitt C. Davis .....	Milwaukee .....
Thomas B. Scott.....	Grand Rapids .....	George B. Pratt.....	Menasha .....
G. Van Steenwyk .....	La Crosse .....	Paul Lackmund.....	Baraboo .....

## DELEGATES.

1—J. V. Quarles.....	Kenosha .....	E. S. Stone .....	Oconomowoc .....
Charles Palmétier .....	Geneva .....	T. M. Nichol.....	Racine .....
2—A. J. Turner.....	Portage City .....	D. E. Welch.....	Baraboo .....
George E. Bryant .....	Madison .....	W. D. Hoard .....	Fort Atkinson .....
3—Wm. E. Carter .....	Platteville .....	A. C. Dodge.....	Meeme .....
Norman L. James .....	Richland Center .....	J. W. Rewey.....	Mifflin .....
4—E. M. Rogers .....	Hartford .....	S. S. Barry.....	West Bend .....
F. C. Winkler.....	Milwaukee .....	John Ruger.....	Milwaukee .....
5—W. H. Henschmeyer.....	Manitowoc .....	W. T. Raumbusch.....	Juneau .....
J. C. Wedge.....	Fond du Lac .....	D. D. Trelevan .....	Fond du Lac .....



## WISCONSIN—CONTINUED.

DELEGATES.		ALTERNATES.	
DISTRICTS.			
6—Philetus Sawyer.....	Oshkosh.....	H. S. Sacket.....	Berlin.....
Levi Howland.....	Green Bay.....	B. T. Rogers.....	Appleton.....
7—J. M. Rusk.....	Viroqua.....	M. A. Thayer.....	Sparta.....
F. L. Gilson.....	Ellsworth.....	J. W. DeGroff.....	Alma.....
8—S. W. Hunt.....	Menomonee.....	C. S. Kelsey.....	Montello.....
Isaac Stephenson.....	Marinette.....	A. J. Haywood.....	.....

## TERRITORIES.

## ARIZONA.

A. P. K. Safford.....	Tucson.....	Richard C. McCormick.....	New York City.....
Levi Rashford.....	Prescott.....	William A. Vosburg.....	Phoenix.....

## DAKOTA.

Porter Warner.....	Deadwood.....	Frank Veits.....	Grand Forks.....
C. T. McCoy.....	Bon Homme.....	Alexander Hughes.....	Elk Point.....

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

John F. Cook.....	Washington.....	Charles B. Purvis.....	Washington.....
Almon M. Clapp.....	do.....	Sayles J. Bowen.....	do.....

## IDAHO.

George L. Sheup.....	.....	.....	.....
J. W. Brown.....	.....	.....	.....

## MONTANA.

Henry N. Blake .....	Virginia City	J. G. Sanders .....	Jefferson
R. E. Fisk .....	Helena	L. Rotwitt .....	Canon Creek

## NEW MEXICO.

William Breeden .....	Las Cruces	.....	.....
William L. Rynerson .....	Santa Fe	.....	.....

## UTAH.

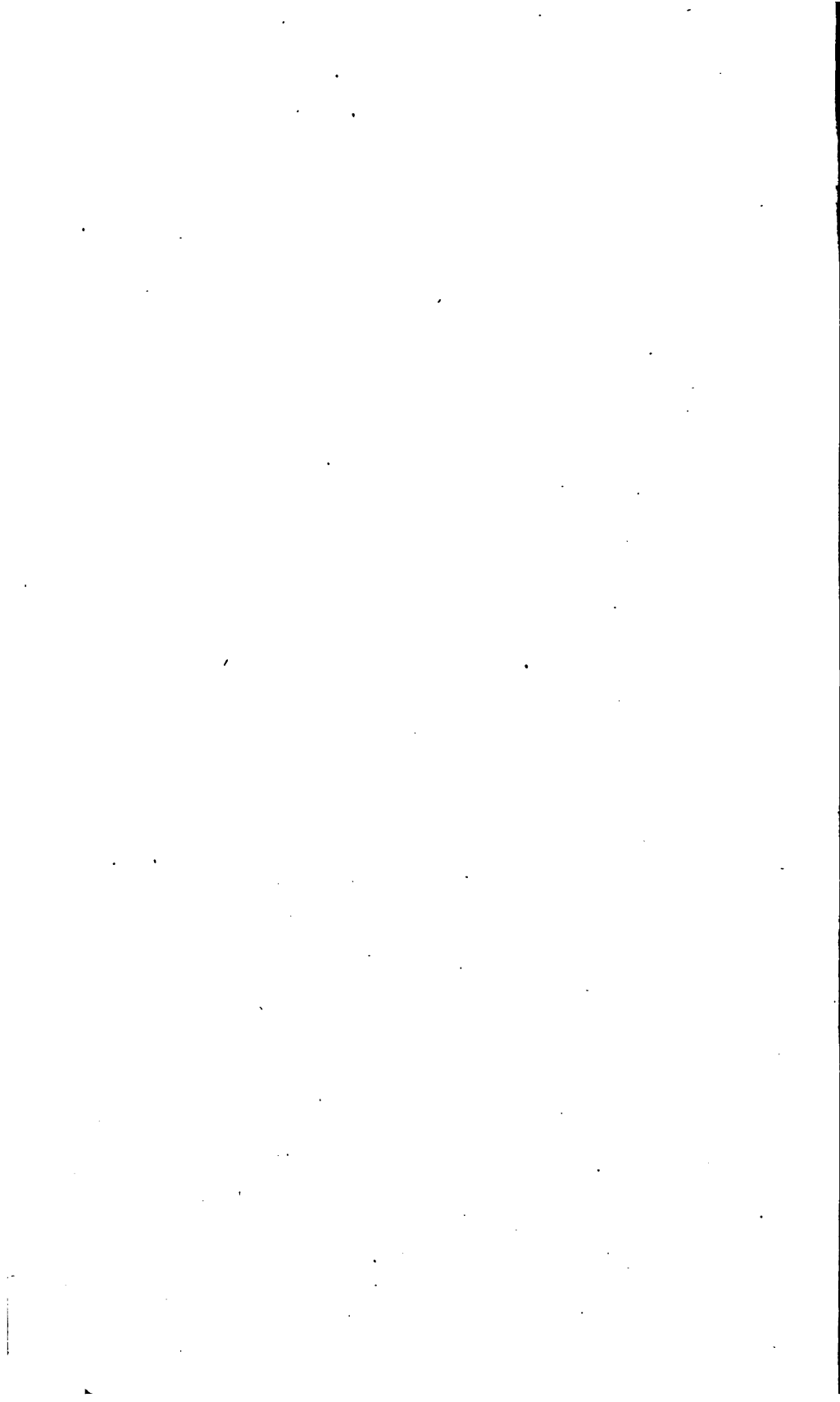
C. W. Bennett .....	Salt Lake City	E. P. Ferry .....	Park City
E. A. Thomas .....	Ogden	C. W. Emerson .....	Provo

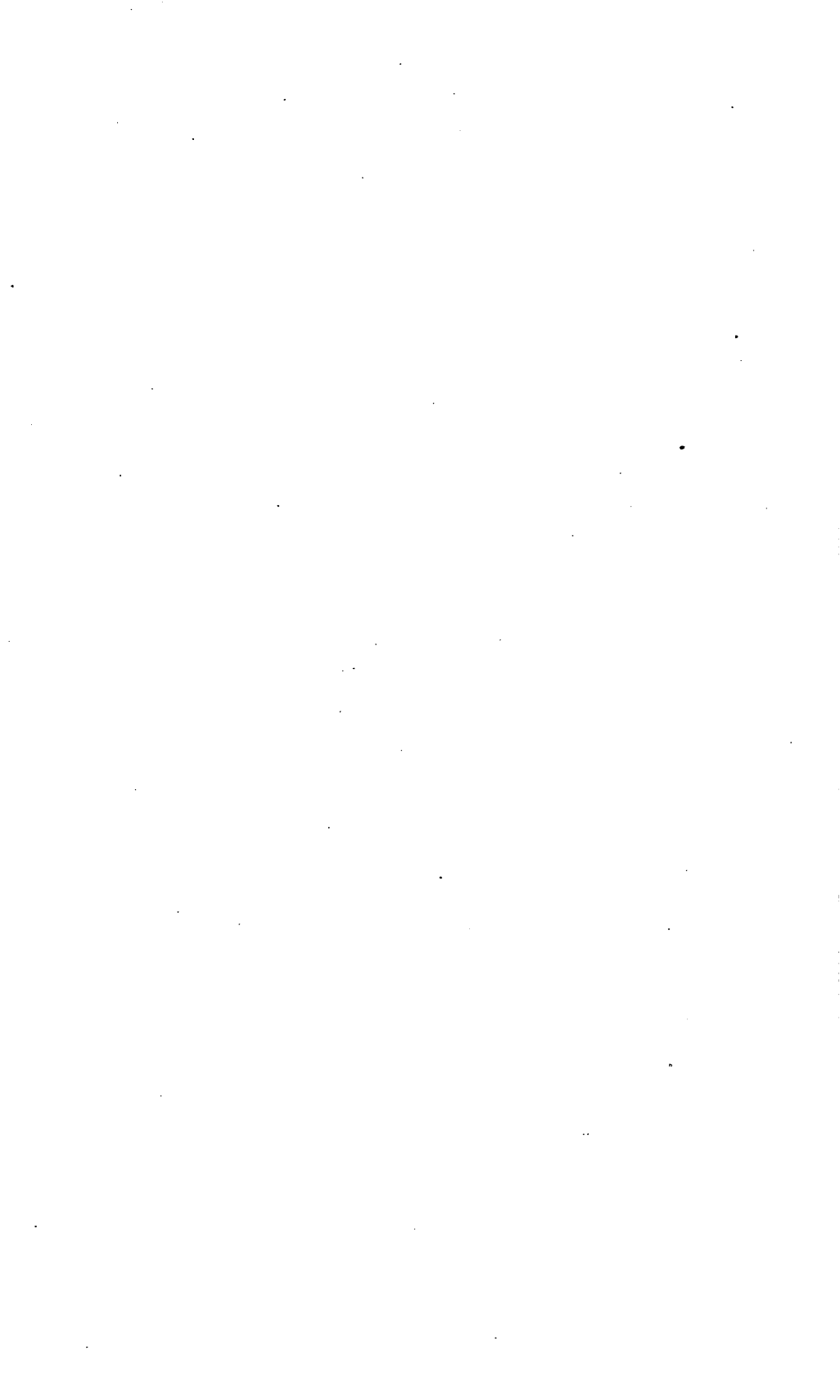
## WASHINGTON.

Thomas T. Minor .....	Washington	George H. Steward .....	Vancouver
Thomas H. Brents .....	do	James A. Perkins .....	Colfax

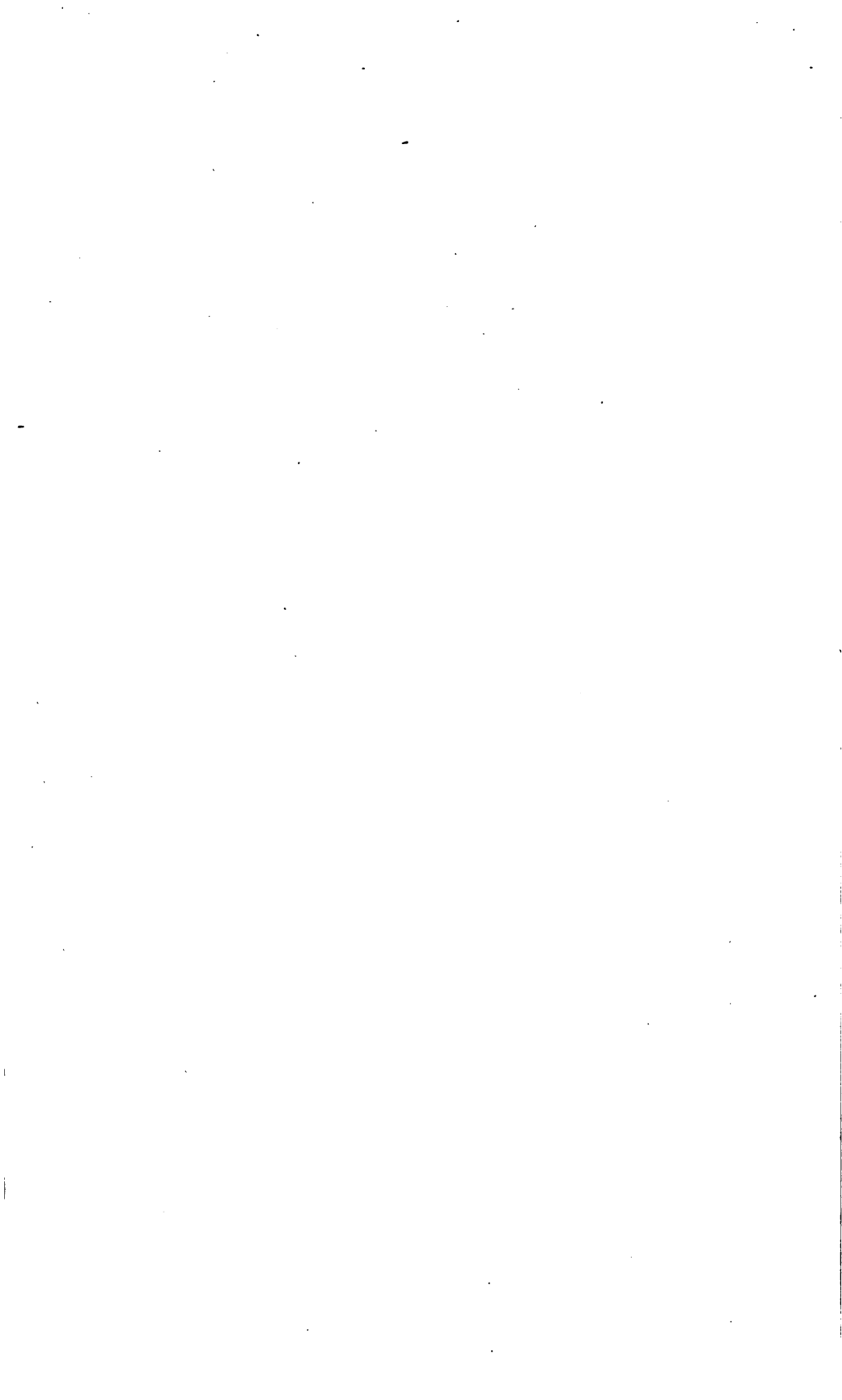
## WYOMING.

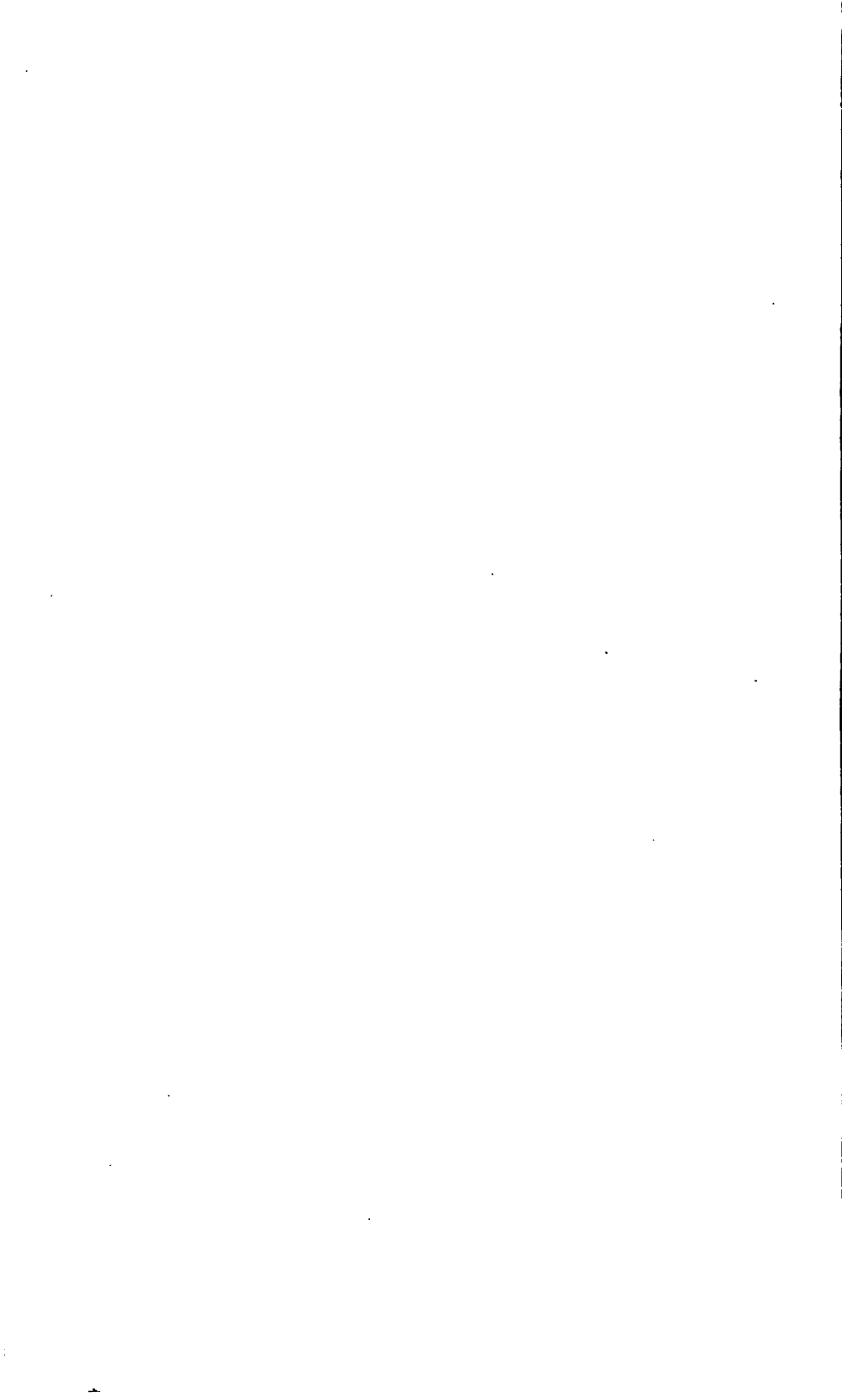
M. C. Brown .....	Laramie	A. C. Lathrop .....	Bryan
W. A. Carter .....	Fort Bridger	W. L. Ash .....	Rawlins





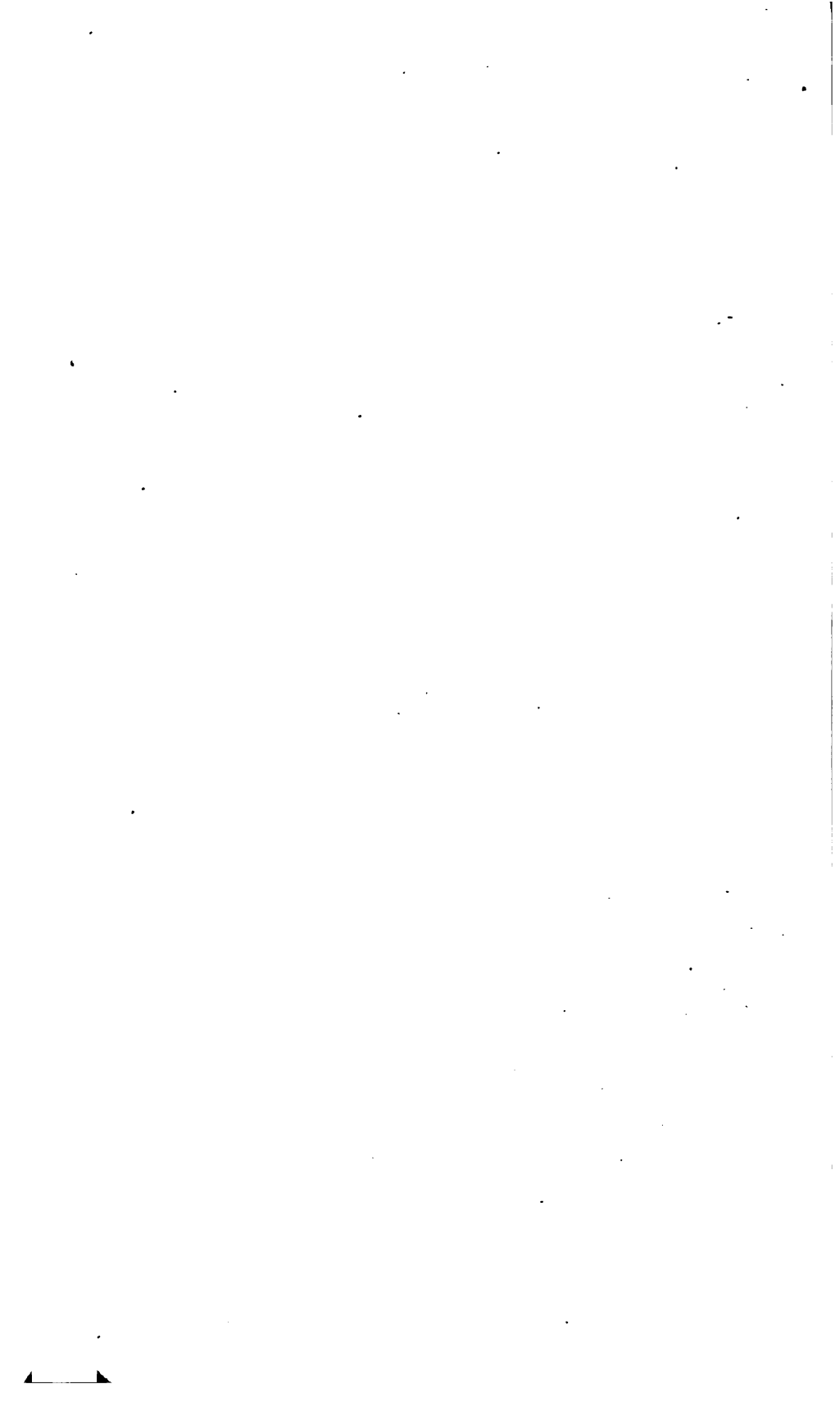
49 1.00  
club











This book should be returned to  
the Library on or before the last date  
stamped below.

A fine of five cents a day is incurred  
by retaining it beyond the specified  
time.

Please return promptly.

~~DUE NOV 30 1915~~

~~DUE JUN 20 1916~~

~~DUE JUN 27 1927~~

~~MAY 28 1928~~

~~JUN 11 1941~~

~~MAR - 5 '52 H~~

~~MAY 21 '62 H~~

~~DUE APR '65 H~~

~~330-530~~

Widener Library



3 2044 097 883 524